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THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS,
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JUDEAN DESERT STUDIES

ARAD INSCRIPTIONS



To Miriam

Yohanan Aharoni

ARAD INSCRIPTIONS

In cooperation with
JOSEPH NAVEH

With contributions by
A. F. RAINEY, M. AHARONI, B. LIFSHITZ,
M. SHARON and Z. GOFER

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FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

It was Professor Aharoni's intention to place the *Arad Inscriptions* in the hands of scholars in a Hebrew edition first and to incorporate their reactions and corrections in an English version after a reasonable period of time. Unfortunately, he did not live to carry out his plan. During the ensuing years, a number of studies have appeared dealing with the texts in this volume; we have added references to their comments and contributions whenever it seemed that they were of relevance. Those authors themselves may feel that more of their ideas should have been adopted or at least cited. They will have a second opportunity when reviewing the present translation.

The job of translating this volume into English was taken over by Judith Ben-Or not long after Professor Aharoni's passing. She has done an admirable job for her first effort in this field and we can only hope that she will continue to render such service to the scholarly world. Throughout the course of her work, she was in touch with me as editor of the volume and with Professor J. Naveh with regard to his own contribution.

Basically, the form and content of the original Hebrew version has been maintained with only occasional additions or modifications. Because this is an English edition and will be of interest even to the non-specialist, we have striven to add the form of all proper names in the spelling commonly used in English versions of the Bible. Though the Hebrew glossary has been left as is — it is only useful for the Hebrew scholar — an index of the proper nouns has been added in English form. In the commentary, the decision whether to reproduce Hebrew forms or to transcribe them into Latin characters has depended on each individual case. English translations have been added for each text though we have reproduced Professor Aharoni's own renderings into more-or-less Massoretic Hebrew. By giving those latter, he had not intended for the reader to think that he was attempting to reproduce the actual vocalization of the First Temple Period. His reconstructions and Tiberian vocalization will, nevertheless, prove helpful in clarifying his own view on each passage.

Three ostraca discovered during restoration and rescue excavations in 1976 have been included at the end of the Hebrew section. At the suggestion of G. Barkay, we have also provided a summary of the inscribed shekel weights and royal stamped jar handles from the five seasons of excavations at Arad. Mrs. Aharoni prepared the information on them and we have added a few editorial comments.

By now the importance of Arad as an archaeological site of the Judean monarchy should be universally recognized. Not only the number of preserved inscriptions but also their stratigraphic placement make Arad unique as a source for studying the language and epigraphy as well as the palaeography of ancient Judah. The thorough and careful excavation of this site from the end of its occupation down to its beginnings in the Early Iron Age has provided for the first time a

sequence of strata spanning the entire sweep of Judean history from the settlement to the end of the monarchy (plus the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods). As Professor Aharoni often stressed, the Negeb is one area, the fate of which was emphasized in the biblical record. The rising and falling fortunes of Judah were measured by the ancient historians in terms of its control of the Negeb. Therefore, the royal building projects and the destructions by enemies, two kinds of activity most likely to leave traces in the archaeological record, are faithfully recorded. If these events are truly reflected in the strata of a given site, or sites, may be a matter of chance. The assignment of a certain building phase or a particular destruction level to a specific historical allusion is tenuous at best, much more so than most archaeologists are prepared to admit, but at least at Arad we have a complete sequence of strata and destructions to work with.

On the cultural plane, the inscriptions also make their contribution to the elucidation of the cult. There can be no doubt that the shrine in the northwest corner of the Arad fortress had all the architectural elements of the Jerusalem temple and the Pentateuchal tabernacle: courtyard, vestibule, holy place, holy of holies, altar for burnt offerings, incense altars and even the orientation towards the sunrise. Various differences in dimensions, etc., only serve to emphasize how little we really know about the ancient Judean worship centres. But one thing should be obvious: the Levitical names in inscriptions found in or around the cultic structure leave no room for doubt that this was a Yahwistic place of worship.

The excavations in 1976, begun by this writer and completed by S. Derfler, have changed our conception of the gates in Strata XI and X. Our work was done in close consultation with Z. Herzog and Sh. Moskowicz who have provided revised plans for this English edition.

As editor of this volume, I wish to express my thanks to Miriam Aharoni for entrusting me with the task. Because of many other pressing responsibilities, including the editing of *Land of the Bible*, I turned to Judith Ben-Or with the request that she do the translation and she has not disappointed us. Professor J. Naveh has, of course, cooperated willingly in preparing his own chapter, the high standard of which will be acknowledged by all. Thanks are also due to Joseph Aviram, Honorary Secretary of the Israel Exploration Society, and to the publishers.

During the tension filled days of October–November, 1973, Professor Aharoni used his time to put the Hebrew edition of *The Arad Inscriptions* into shape. The volume appeared in the fall of 1975 and on 7 January, 1976, Aharoni was awarded the Ben-Zvi prize on the basis of this achievement. Meanwhile, in the weeks preceding that event, Aharoni had been working intensively on several scholarly projects. He had written a textbook on the archaeology of Eretz-Israel, he had prepared in rough draft his revisions to *Land of the Bible* and he had written several articles of major importance.

Few are the scholars in perfect health who can match such a record of productivity. In the winter of 1976 he had planned to begin dictating the text of his stratigraphic analysis of the Arad excavations. For this purpose a tape recorder and a complete set of plans were at his bedside. But alas, he was taken from us

FOREWORD TO THE HEBREW EDITION

It was a special privilege accorded to me to publish such a rare collection of ancient Hebrew inscriptions with its manifold contributions to so many aspects of our knowledge about the First Temple Period.

I approached the task of decipherment and interpretation with awe and reverence. The very decipherment of many of the ostraca was difficult and problematic; frequently one could achieve only the most fragmentary reading. More than once I returned to a certain text after various lapses of time over a considerable period until all of a sudden it was as if my eyes were opened and I seemed to arrive at a probable reading. The work of decipherment and reading is assisted, evidently, by the large number of inscriptions which complete one another in their common formulas.

Most of the inscriptions published here are appearing for the first time and I am fully conscious that I certainly have not exhausted all the data from the standpoint of palaeography, language and content. Doubtless, this corpus of texts will serve as material for numerous researches from many avenues of approach and will continue to elucidate subjects that I have not treated and may even contradict some of my conclusions. I herewith offer my blessing to every challenge that will advance our research; I make only one request of those who may delve into these inscriptions: please remember that the basis for every interpretation and explanation is a sound, cautious reading. Blurred passages in the ostraca are treacherous ground for any scholar. The temptation and the danger of seeing not what really has survived but what one wants to see in the blanks are very great. And I surely have not entirely escaped this pitfall myself, but I have striven to maintain as a guideline the repeated checking of every reading for its correctness.

It is a pleasant duty to thank all those who helped to bring the publication of this book to fruition. The continued interest expressed by my wife, Miriam, who had the privilege of discovering the Eliashib archive during our customary sherd dipping, has followed me throughout the entire course of my work; many problems have become clear to me during discussions with her. I cannot list here all those with whom I have discussed various inscriptions; I have tried to give credit

before that project could be realized. So, for the time being, *The Arad Inscriptions* remains his final testimonial on the discoveries at Arad.

A. F. RAINEY

in the body of the text for every suggestion that I have accepted. Prof. A. F. Rainey and Prof. J. Naveh went over the Hebrew manuscript and their contributions are acknowledged in each instance. The glossary was arranged in accordance with a proposal by Prof. Rainey.

Publication of the book in such a pleasing format and in such record time was facilitated by the initiative of Mr. Joseph Aviram, Honorary Secretary of the Israel Exploration Society, and Mr. Chaim Milkov, director of the Bialik Institute. My thanks are also due to the colleagues who took upon themselves the publication of the other inscriptions: Prof. Joseph Naveh — the Aramaic texts; Prof. Baruch Lifshitz — the Greek; and Prof. Moshe Sharon — the Arabic.

Preparation of the material for the press was carried out at the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University. Mr. Shmuel Moskovitz gave me great assistance in preparation of the plans and maps and the stratigraphic analysis. Mrs. Esther Mann assisted in the description and arrangement of the texts. Drawings of vessels were by Mrs. Naomi Schechter; the plans and maps were drawn by Mrs. Ora Paran. The Paleographic Table was drawn by Mrs. Judith Dictrow using my pencilled drawings. The remaining facsimiles are my own pencilled copies reproduced by offset; I believe that this method preserves the delicate nuances of the script with a higher degree of reliability.

Most of the photographs were by Mr. Joseph Schweig, the others were by Mr. Avraham Hay. A special word of thanks is due to my friend, J. Schweig, for the devoted efforts which he invested in the photographs throughout the years and for the convenient and attractive format which he designed and executed for this book. The evidence of his splendid talents in this field are evident on every page. To Mr. Chaim Eitan who added the requisite pointing, to Gon-Graph for preparation of the offset photos and plates, to the Hemed Press for the attractive job of printing — to all of them my deep appreciation.

Y. AHARONI
Jerusalem, 1975

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Inscriptions

Because of the great quantity of inscriptions found in the various strata of the Arad excavations, we felt that a special volume devoted to the whole of the epigraphic material should be published before the rest of the material from the excavations.

Unfortunately, even this volume now before the reader has not been published soon enough, as would befit such important material. The last season of excavations at Arad was in the summer of 1967, and seven years passed before all of the material was ready for publication. Although we have published earlier some of the whole and most important of the ostraca,¹ clearly only a comprehensive edition can give the complete picture. The reason for the delay was the large number of ostraca in which the traces of the script are so faded that their reading is fragmentary. Among the 88 Hebrew ostraca, only 15 are whole, and seven of these include

only one name. The contents of another 25 ostraca have been preserved at least in part; in 28, only single words have been preserved; and in the remaining 20, only single letters. Even less has remained of the Aramaic ostraca. Among the 85 ostraca presented in this volume, it is possible to read parts of only 45. In many inscriptions, one can see clearly the traces of the lines of script, but the individual letters are so fuzzy as to be unintelligible.

A great deal of time was spent investigating various methods of photography, as well as methods of intensifying the ink — up to now with no real success. Most of the photographs were taken by Mr. J. S. Schweig, and others were added by Mr. A. Hay. The best results were usually achieved by the use of sodium light, but here and there infra-red photography and various filters proved useful. In reading the inscriptions, often several different photographs were used, in each of which one or another

Tel Arad, aerial photograph during the excavations



part appeared more distinctly. Only in a few cases was it deemed necessary to include two photographs of the same ostrakon in this book, because in most cases the differences were too small to justify inclusion of several photographs.

In this volume there are photographic copies of all of the material, even in those cases where we are unable to offer a likely reading. Only more or less certain readings, which the reader can check for himself by comparing the facsimile to the photograph, are transliterated and translated.

Even after all of these limitations, we have here a rich and unique treasure, that up to now has no equal in all of Eretz-Israel. Its importance lies not only in the variety of inscriptions — including political, administrative, and religious documents — but also in their varied dates. On the citadel mound of Arad, six fortresses from the period of the monarchy were unearthed, and on top of them were remains of fortresses from the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and early Arab periods. Some of the ostraca do indeed come from unstratified loci, but most of them can be dated with no difficulty by paleographic comparison. Most of the whole or nearly whole texts are from Strata VIII–VI (end of the eighth century to the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.), but the 27 ostraca from the earlier strata are very important paleographically as well as historically. Here is proof that the cursive script of the Hebrew scribes came into use during the United Kingdom, and at least we have a stratigraphic-historic basis for Hebrew paleography.

The ostraca are arranged in chronological stratigraphic order, beginning with the later periods from which come the whole and nearly whole inscriptions. To each stratum, after the stratified inscriptions, we have added those not found clearly stratified but which belong paleographically to the same period. The last of the Hebrew ostraca [edited by Aharoni] is a single text found on a visit to the citadel after the Hebrew volume was ready for publication. [Three more found during the 1976 season of excavation and restoration have subsequently been added. AFR]. These are followed by the graffiti and seals, and the volume concludes with the Aramaic, Greek and Arabic ostraca. Since a full report of the excavations has yet to be published, we have included two general plans marking all the loci in the various strata in which ostraca and other inscriptions were found. These are not stratigraphical plans; they combine prominent buildings from various strata which make it possible to determine the location of each inscription until publication of the final stratigraphic plans. In the map of the Hebrew inscriptions presented here, we have drawn the main buildings of Levels XI–IV (fig. 1); the second map, giving the location of the Aramaic, Greek, and Arabic inscriptions, shows the main buildings of Strata IV–II (fig. 2). For the general orientation of the reader, we have included below a short review of the excavations and the principal buildings found in each stratum.⁷

The Arad Excavations

The citadel mound of Arad, where the ostraca were

found, occupies the southeast edge of the ridge which, in the shape of a horseshoe, surrounds the Early Bronze Age city. A city wall was built along the watershed of the horseshoe and was continued across the open end so as to encircle the town completely. On the southeastern leg of the ridge, the wall also swung down to a lower contour line in order to encircle the whole of the citadel mound. It would appear that a special public building stood here from the Bronze Age on, if we are to judge by the portions of a massive building found at this site. In every place excavated below the Iron Age strata are remnants of the Early Bronze Age city.⁸

There were five seasons of excavations on the citadel mound of Arad between 1962 and 1967. The expedition was sponsored by the Israel Department of Antiquities, the Hebrew University, and the Israel Exploration Society. In the fifth and last season, the University of North Carolina (U.S.A.) joined these institutions. From 1968 on, the analysis of the material was carried on at Tel Aviv University's Institute of Archeology, where the maps, drawings, and photographs were also prepared.⁹ During the excavations, the expedition was aided by the District of Arad and the city council of the new town of Arad, first through the good offices of Mr. A. Eliav, and later actively supported by Colonel Y. Pundak.

During the first season, in the spring of 1962, I directed the excavations together with Mrs. Ruth Amiran. Both of us excavated mainly the citadel mound and its slopes, Mrs. Amiran in the northeast corner and myself in the southwest corner.⁵ During that season already, we discovered about 30 ostraca and some additional inscriptions in several different strata; most were in Hebrew, but some were Aramaic and Arabic. Having expected ostraca in this desert citadel, we had exchanged the usual rubber baskets for plastic pails in which to collect the sherds, a method since adopted by most other archeological excavations. We also added to the routine a dip in water for the sherds and their examination, prior to thorough washing.

The second season, in the summer of 1963, was directed by myself, with the assistance of Dr. Moshe Kochavi.⁶ We spent the first half of the season digging in the ancient city, and only in the second half did we concentrate on the tell, where the Israelite sanctuary was discovered. In this season, too, we found close to 30 ostraca, mostly in Hebrew, but some also in Aramaic.

Beginning with the third season, the summer of 1964, we divided the excavations and analysis of the material into two main settlement periods. Ruth Amiran directed the excavations of the ancient Bronze Age city, whereas I continued to direct the excavations of the citadel mound.⁷ In this season, 14 Aramaic inscriptions and more than 30 Hebrew ones were found. The most important find was the archive of Eliashib son of Eshiyahu, discovered in a thick burnt level in one of the rooms of the casemate wall (Locus 637) near the southwest corner of the citadel. This collection belongs to the destruction layer of the last Israelite fortress (Stratum VI); it contains remnants of 18 ostraca, of which five are whole and another six have preserved most of their script. This is the first time that an archive

of the commander of a major fortress of the monarchial period has been found, and it provides us with many details of state administration.

In the fourth season, which I directed at the beginning of the summer of 1965, we found some 20 Aramaic and more than ten Hebrew ostraca.⁸ The most interesting discovery was part of Eliashib's archive from an older stratum (VII): in a small room (Locus 779) near the fortress wall and near the ostrakon room of Stratum VI, we found a rich collection of ceramics, a decorated tridacna shell, two shekel weights, three seals with the name of Eliashib (Inscriptions No. 105–107), and several ostraca. One of the latter was a Hebrew ostrakon containing a list of wheat distributions (No. 31), and another was a hieratic ostrakon containing an inventory of the citadel's storehouse (No. 34).

The fifth and last season at the citadel mound, in the summer of 1967, was directed jointly by the late Prof. Bernard Boyd and myself.⁹ During this season, 20 Hebrew and four Aramaic ostraca were found. The two most important Hebrew ostraca were: an ostrakon from Stratum XI (No. 76), the earliest Hebrew ostrakon discovered to date, only partially preserved; and an ostrakon apparently from the archive of Eliashib, though it was not found in clear context (No. 24), in which the commanders of Arad and nearby citadels are called upon to prepare to repulse an Edomite attack.

The last ostrakon (No. 88) was not found during the excavations, but was discovered in March 1974 by Israel Sommer of the Ein Gedi Field School during a visit at the tell.¹⁰ Although remains of only three lines were preserved, these lines are clearly part of a letter from the king of Judah to the fortress commander; according to the handwriting, it must come from Stratum VII. This is an important addition to the collection of ostraca. [The three texts found in 1976 have been added to the English edition. AFR]

Here is a short description of the main buildings found on the citadel mound of Arad in the various strata:

Stratum XII (twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.E.)

After an interval of about 1500 years following the destruction of the ancient city, a new town was founded during the Israelite settlement. This was a small unfortified town on the southeast edge of the ancient city, on the ridge that thereafter became the citadel mound. Buildings from this stratum were excavated mainly on the western slope, where we dug deeply outside the walls of the later citadel, and in the area of the sanctuary at the top of the hill. It seems that their only defense was a stone embankment around the edge of the slope. In the center of the town, at the top of the hill, there was a holy place which was surrounded by a *temenos* wall, within which were remains of a high place and altar. It would seem that this was the town of the Kenite family mentioned in Judges 1:16.

Stratum XI (tenth century B.C.E.)

In this stratum a citadel was constructed — the first in a

series of Israelite fortresses built and destroyed during the monarchy period. Its area was about 50×50 square meters, and it was surrounded by a casemate wall with projecting towers, one on each corner, and two on each side. The gate was in the northeast corner opposite the sanctuary, which stood in the northwest corner. This sanctuary was one of the chief buildings of the citadel, and continued to exist with changes and repairs during Strata XI–VII. Since the citadel of Arad is mentioned in the list of cities conquered by Pharaoh Shishak in the fifth year of Rehoboam the son of Solomon,¹¹ it is clear that the first citadel is from the period of the United Monarchy.

Stratum X (ninth century B.C.E.)

A new wall was built surrounding the fortress — a wall full of small angles and without towers. The gate was moved a little to the south and was now near the center of the eastern side. In the northeast corner of the fortress, a storehouse was built which remained part of all future citadels, up to Stratum VI. The courtyard was from now on in the center of the fortress toward the eastern side; however, its exact size is unknown because of the Hellenistic tower whose foundations were sunk



Rooms along the southern wall including the archive room of Eliashib (Locus 637)

deeply here. Living quarters were to the south of the courtyard, along the southern wall. To the west of the courtyard were additional rooms, some of them workshops. At the bottom of the slope was an exterior terrace wall supporting the glacis the length of the slope. A water canal was dug in this stratum which brought the water to cisterns dug in the rock underneath some of the buildings of the fortress.

Stratum IX (second half of the eighth century B.C.E.)

The plan of the fortress, the placement of the important buildings, and its wall remained the same in this stratum. As to the fortifications, here is the beginning of a phenomenon characteristic of the two subsequent strata: parallel lines have been built inside of the thick walls, similar to casemate walls. Apparently this was done for two reasons: to strengthen the parts of the wall that had become weak, and to make it wider. The sacrificial altar found in the courtyard of the sanctuary is from Stratum IX, and under it are remains of earlier altars.

Stratum VIII (second half of the eighth century B.C.E.)

The plan of the citadel remained the same as that of Stratum IX in all important details. Although the sanctuary was rehabilitated, the sacrificial altar ceased to be used, and the floor of the courtyard covered it.

Stratum VII (seventh century B.C.E.)

The plan of the citadel and its buildings was again similar to its predecessors. The outstanding innovation here is the addition of an interior wall parallel to the whole southern wall of the fortress. Thus the living quarters located here were truncated and their southern portions became small casemate rooms. In one of these rooms, near the eastern corner (Locus 779), the seals of Eliashib were found.

Stratum VI (end of the seventh, beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.)

This is the last Israelite citadel; it existed for only about ten years. The fortress was encircled by a new casemate wall which had towers projecting at the corners and in the middle of each side, similar to the fortresses of Kadesh-Barnea and Horvat Uzza.¹² Along the western side and in the northwest corner, a completely new wall was built, whereas the rest of the wall was rebuilt along the lines of the old wall. In the south, the interior line of the casemate wall of Stratum VII became the exterior wall of Stratum VI. The general plan of the fortress was not changed in this stratum except for two things: the sanctuary ceased to exist, most of it being buried under the wall; and the gate was moved to the north side. It

would seem that the two changes were connected: with the cancellation of the sanctuary, the area became a courtyard into which a new gate led.

Stratum V (fifth to fourth centuries B.C.E.)

We learn of the existence of this stratum mainly from the ostraca found in the refuse pits scattered over the whole area. No buildings or floors were discovered which could be ascribed to this level. According to the contents of the ostraca, it is clear that there was a fortress here in this stratum, too. It seems that it was not large and was located where the Hellenistic tower was later built. Perhaps the Persian fortress was completely destroyed when the tower was built during the Hellenistic period, or else the foundations of the Hellenistic tower were from the Persian period.

Stratum IV (third to second centuries B.C.E.)

The main fortification of the period was the large tower — about twenty by twenty meters — whose foundations were sunk down to bedrock thus destroying the remains of other strata in this place. Mainly to the west and north of this tower were several buildings used as living quarters and workshops.

Stratum III (approximately the first and second centuries C.E.)

A Roman citadel, about thirty by thirty-seven meters, was built here, only slightly smaller than the Israelite citadel. Its foundations were not deep, thus not much damage was done to earlier levels.

Almost no material was found which could be ascribed to this stratum within the fortress. Material from the first and second centuries C.E. was found mainly at the foot of the tell and in the garbage dumps — apparently from the time of this citadel.

Stratum II (seventh to ninth centuries C.E.)

At the beginning of the Arab period, a house of some prosperous clan or an inn was built on the tell on the location of the Roman fortress. Several rooms of the Roman fortress were repaired and used at this time, and new rooms were built in the rest of the area.

Stratum I

After the Arab building was destroyed, not later than the end of the ninth century C.E., there was no further settlement here. Most of the area of the citadel became a Bedouin burial ground. These graves, some of which were dug down to the upper Israelite levels, constitute the last stratum of the tell.

The following table lists the strata along with the number of inscriptions found in each stratum:

ARAD INSCRIPTIONS

Stratum	Date	Estimated date of destruction	Number of inscriptions	Additional inscriptions belonging to the stratum by paleographic comparison	Language
I	Bedouin graves		—	—	
II	7th-9th century C.E.		5	—	Arabic
III	1st-2nd century C.E.		2	—	Greek
IV	3rd-1st century B.C.E.		—	—	
V	5th-4th century B.C.E.		85	—	Aramaic
VI	605-595 B.C.E.	595 B.C.	22	10	Hebrew
VII	7th century B.C.E.	609 B.C.	3	10	Hebrew
VIII	End of 8th century B.C.E.	701 B.C.	18	4	Hebrew
IX	8th century B.C.E.	734 B.C.	10	—	Hebrew
X	9th century B.C.E.		4	7	Hebrew
XI	10th century B.C.E.	920 B.C.	4	2	Hebrew
XII	12th-11th century B.C.E.		—	—	

1. For every inscription that has previously been published, the references are given before the respective footnotes of each text.

2. The following is a list of preliminary surveys published heretofore: Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "The First Season of Excavations at Tel Arad," *Yediot* 26 (1963), pp. 217-234 (Heb.); *idem.*, *IEJ* 14 (1964), pp. 131-147; Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "Arad, A Biblical City in Southern Palestine," *Archaeology* 17 (1964), pp. 43-53; Y. Aharoni, "The Second Season of Excavations at Tel Arad," *Yediot* 28 (1964), pp. 153-175 (Heb.); *idem.*, *IEJ* 17 (1967), pp. 233-249; *idem.*, "The Archaeological Excavations at Arad," *HaUniversita* 13 (1967), pp. 35-45 (Heb.); *idem.*, "The Negeb," *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, ed. D. Winton Thomas, Oxford, 1967, pp. 391-401; *idem.*, "Tel Arad," *Bible et Terre Sainte* 92 (1967), pp. 8-16; *idem.*, "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple," *BA* 31 (1968), pp. 1-32; *idem.*, "The Israelite Sanctuary at Arad," *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, 1969, pp. 25-39; *idem.*, *Ariel* 24 (1969), pp. 21-36; *idem.*, *Ancient Arad*, Israel Museum Catalog 25 (1969); *idem.*, "Arad," *Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, II, 1971, pp. 469-477 (Hebrew); *idem.*, *Encyclopaedia biblica*, VI, 1972, cols. 370-382; Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "Arad," *Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, I (1975), pp. 74-89.

3. Concerning the Early Bronze City, cf. R. Amiran, *Early Arad I, First-Fifth Seasons of Excavations, 1962-1966*, Jerusalem, 1978.

4. The author's thanks are due in particular to A. Hay and M. Weinberg, who prepared the photographs, and to O. Paran and Y. Dittrow, who prepared the maps and drawings. The author himself prepared the facsimiles of the inscriptions.

5. A complete list of the staff will be published in the final report but this opportunity may be taken to express our thanks to the principal staff members. During the first season, A. Eitan and M. Kochavi helped with the administration of the dig; Joseph Shinhav was responsible for restoration and Sh. Y. Schweig did part of the photography. M. Feist was surveyor for all five seasons.

6. In the field work we were assisted by a group of students from the Bezalel School of Art. Area supervisors were Y. Dayan, Dr. M. Gihon, who had charge of excavating the Roman fort, Y. Dubbi, who supervised the area where the temple was found; Ziva Kolodny and Dr. A. F. Rainey had charge for registration; D. Bar-Adon was responsible for restoration and Sh. Y. Schweig again did part of the photography. A. Ephrat assisted in the administration of the expedition.

7. Area supervisors were D. Amir, Sh. Harush, R. Marjey, Y. Porat and I. Roll; registration was directed by Ziva Kolodny and Ester Mann; restoration was by D. Bar-Adon and Lydia Zavetsky.

8. Supervision of the excavation was with the assistance of M. Kochavi, A. F. Rainey and R. Cohen. Other area supervisors were M. Golani, Y. Gat, Z. Herzog, B. Hofri, F. Fritz, and E. Frankel. The architect, I. Dunayevski assisted in preparation of the plans and participated in stratigraphic discussions.

9. Area Supervisors were D. Ben-Meir, I. Damati, Murry Halperin, A. Lewis, Prof. M. Millar, Sh. Milstein, J. Salkin, Prof. E. Scoggin, E. Phillips, F. Fritz, J. Reid and A. F. Rainey. In the surveying, M. Feist was assisted by P. Zavetsky. Restoration was in the charge of Lydia Zavetsky. The camp was supervised by Mrs. Miriam Aharoni, Ester Mann and R. Livneh. Sh. Schweig conducted aerial photography with the cooperation of the Southern Command, Israel Defense Forces. Sh. Nahmani was in charge of administration and supply.

10. It was passed on to me by P. Bar-Adon and thanks are due to both of them. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine where in the fortress it may have been found because the inscription was discerned only during the washing of the sherds at En Gedi. Its contents and paleography suggest that it comes from the Eliashib archive of Stratum VII.

11. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 2nd ed., London, 1979, pp. 328-329.

12. Cf. Y. Aharoni, "Elath and the Negev Roads in the Biblical Period," *Elath*, Jerusalem, 1963, pp. 55-57, Fig. 2.

THE HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS

The Ostraca

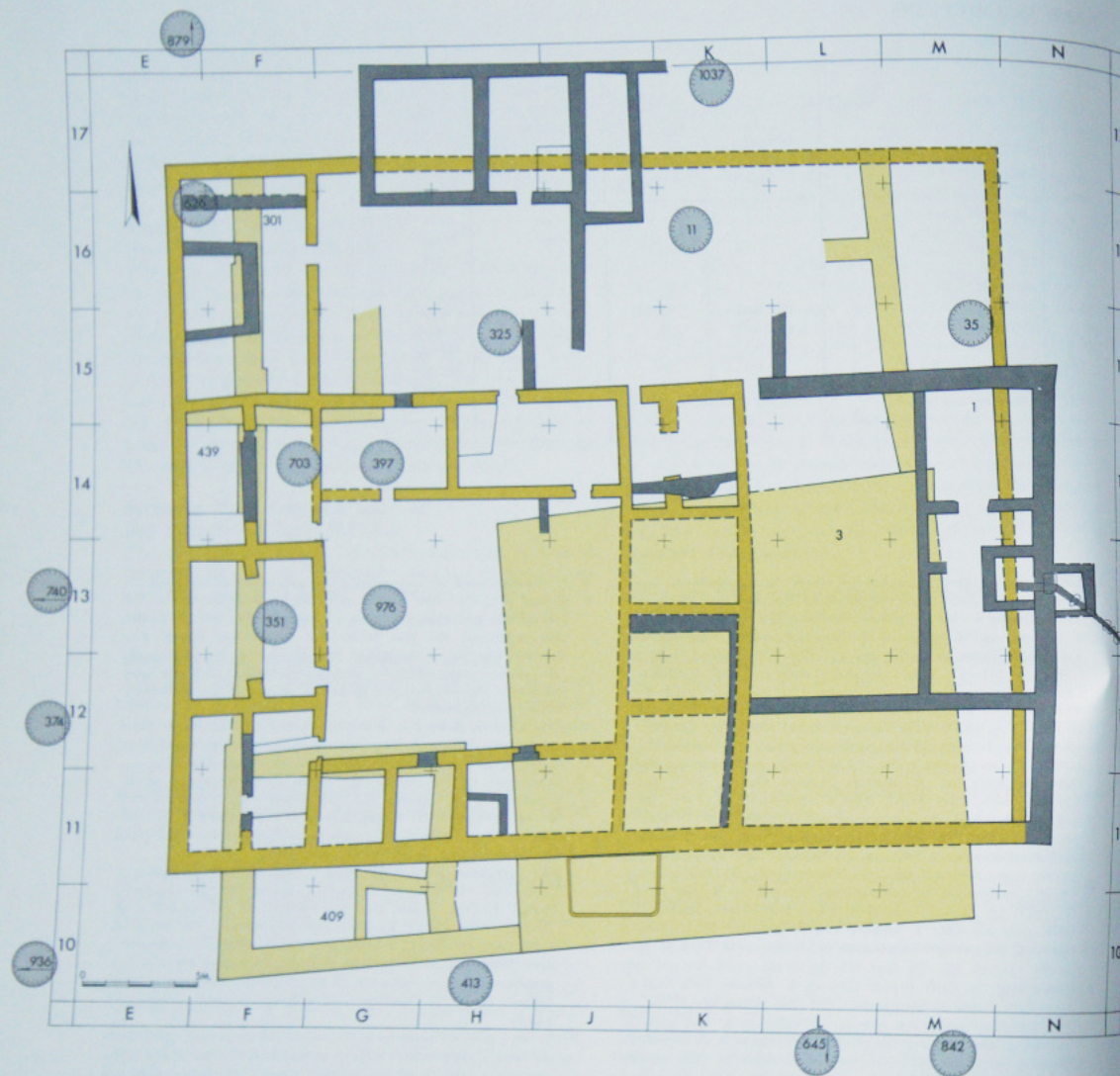
Next to each photograph of the Hebrew inscriptions we have added a pencil drawing of the script (facsimile). This sketch was done as precisely as possible, using an enlarged photograph, although there is naturally a certain amount of subjectivity involved. We tried to be meticulous about representing the faded portions with lighter shading.

The photographs are given in different sizes, taking into account the size of the script and the character of the material. In contrast, the facsimiles are all given in

the actual size of the ostraca (1:1). The measurements of each ostrakon, details of the locus where it was recovered, and a description of the sherd will be found in a special list at the end of the book (pp. 180-187).

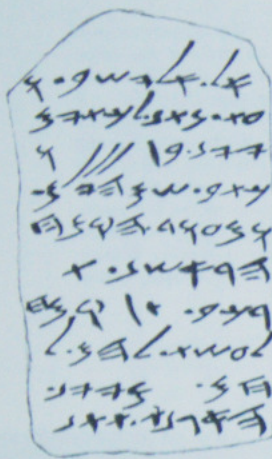
Inscriptions 1-18 are a group of ostraca found during the third season in one of the casemate rooms in the south wall (Locus 637). The sherds were found in a charred layer of Stratum VI, covered by 20-30 cm. of fallen clay bricks. They were scattered on the floor near a bowl of basalt (photograph below); along with them were found various smashed pots, including broken earthenware jars, one of which carried an inscription (No. 19).

The Eliashib ostraca in situ (Locus 637).



Plan of the later fortresses, Strata II-IV, with the loci where inscriptions were found.

Strata
II
III
IV
V



Inscription 1*

To Eliashib: And now, give the Kittiyim 3 baths of wine, and write the name of the day. And from the rest of the first flour, send one homer of flour in order to make bread for them. Give them the wine from the *aganoth* vessels.

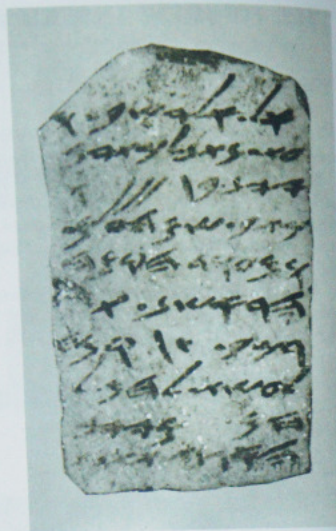
Line 1. The opening "to" shows that we have before us an epistle similar to the Lachish letters (Letters 2, 6). The opening is short, and only the name of the addressee is written, with the introductory word *עת* "and now" — with no greeting or other polite formula. From this we learn — as is also clear from the contents of the letter — that it was sent from a higher authority, giving instructions to Eliashib.

Eliashib — this is a common name in the Bible, and appears often in the post-exilic period.¹ The name also appears among the progeny of the House of David (1 Chr 3:24), and as a high priest in Nehemiah's day (Neh 3:1). Its appearance here, and apparently also at Lachish,² in inscriptions from the First Temple period shows that its original meaning is not connected to the post-exilic period, as some scholars have thought.³

Line 2. "And now" as an introduction for the contents of a letter is also known from the Lachish ostraca (2:4)⁴ and from the papyrus of Wadi Murabba'at.⁵ In the Bible, the fuller spelling of *עתה* is usual, however the shorter form appears also in Ezek 23:43 and Ps 74:6.⁶ It may be that Cross and Freedman are right, and the word should be pronounced *עת* or *עַת*, since and ultimate *a*-vowel was nearly always represented at that time by *he*.⁷ However,

* Preliminary publication vid. Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 1-5; The same in Hebrew in *Yediot* 30, pp. 32-35.

1. אל אלושבו.
2. עתנת לבתימ.
3. יינב ו / ו.
4. כתב שמהימ.
5. ומעור הקמח.
6. הראשנת.
7. רכב. 1. קמח.
8. לעשת להם ל.
9. חם מיון.
10. האגנת תתנ.



this writing is not used consistently, and in the Arad inscriptions, for instance, the writing *ידעתה* (Inscription 40:9) appears in contrast to *הסכת* (Inscription 2:5-6) and *ולקחת* (Inscription 17:3-4).

נתן — the use of the infinitive instead of the simple imperative is apparently an idiom in official instructions, such as those given in these letters. It is common in most of the letters, although the simple imperative is sometimes used (Inscriptions 3, 4, 12, 18). The infinitive appears in the Bible mainly when divine laws and commands are given (e.g. Exod 13:3; 20:8; 2 Kgs 3:16), and it has been explained as an exalted and archaic expression which takes the place of a simple imperative (2 Sam 24:13 in contrast to 1 Chr 21:10).⁸ But now it is clear that this form was also used in everyday state administration.

Kittiyim (Kittim) — This is the plural of *Kitti*, which appears in Inscription 17. Kittiyim are mentioned in 10 ostraca from Eliashib's archive, mostly at the beginning of letters with instructions to give them a certain amount of wine and bread. It seems that they brought the letters with them to Arad in order to receive provisions for the road. In Inscription 2, they receive provisions for four days, apparently for a journey of that length. In several ostraca, oil is mentioned — however it is not meant for them, but is given to them sealed for delivery to its destination (Inscriptions 4, 7, 10, 17). From Inscription 17 we learn that the Kittiyim were under orders from a Judean officer by the name of Nahum, since he sent the requested oil "in the hands of the Kittiyim".

In the Bible, the usual meaning of the word Kittiyim is "Greek", inhabitants of the Aegean islands, and especially Cyprus, where there is a city *κίτιον* (vid. Gen 10:4; Exod 24:24; Isa 23:1; Jer 2:10; Ezek 27:6).⁹ Thus it would appear that the Kittiyim in these ostraca are Greek or Cypriot mercenaries serving in the Judean

army, perhaps especially in garrisons of the more remote fortresses.¹⁰ Support for this assumption may be derived from the imported Oriental Greek ware found at Tell Malhata south of Arad,¹¹ and from the Greek pottery at Mešad Hashavyahu, the Israelite fortress from the time of Josiah, between Yavne-yam and Ashdod.¹² Instead of Naveh's conclusion that Mešad Hashavyahu was founded as a Greek trade station, perhaps by mercenaries of Psammetichus I, it would seem more likely that here was a garrison of Greek mercenaries working for Josiah.¹³ There are no indications that the Kittiyim lived at Arad. Rather, as the contents of the letters tell us, here at Arad they were given provisions for their journeys to more distant places.

Line 3. *יין* — this is usual writing for the diphthong at Arad, in contrast to the spelling *י* in the Samaria ostraca.¹⁴ The plene spelling is also known from an inscription on a decanter from Judah.¹⁵

ב — The letter *bet* is an abbreviation of *בתי*, a liquid measure equal to about 22 liters.¹⁶ This form of abbreviation appears in many of the ostraca of Arad, and it is also known now on an ostrakon from the end of the eighth century found at Beer-Sheva.¹⁷ The diagonal line after the *bet* belongs to the abbreviation and not to the number following it. This is clear from its proximity to the *bet* and its slant to the right, in contrast to the lines representing the number which are written slanted to the left. There is one ostrakon (3) in which the abbreviation of the measure is written after the number, albeit somewhat faded. Thus the three remaining lines represent the number 3. The last line is somewhat longer than the others, as is usual in the other ostraca.

Line 4. *יום* — There is no doubt that the word *יום* is meant, written without the *waw*, as in the Siloam inscription and the Lachish letters.¹⁸ For the formula "write the name of the day", that is, the date, cf. Ezek 24:2: *בן אדם כתוב לך את שם היום את עצם היום הזה*... "Son of man, write thee the name of the day, even of this selfsame day."

Line 5. *מערור* — from what is left over, the remainder (cf. Jer 38:9). In the Bible, there is no combination *מערור* aside from *מערור*, relating to time (Gen 48:15; Exod 22:30), and cf. the word *מערור* in the Siloam inscription.¹⁹

The plene writing with the *waw*, used also in other ostraca (Inscriptions 2:7; 2:3; 21:18), shows that the diphthong was apparently still pronounced in this word at this time in Judah.²⁰

Lines 5-6. *הקמח הראשון* — a *terminus technicus* for a certain type of flour in the storerooms. The expression "from the rest of the first flour" also appears in Inscription 5. Perhaps what is meant is the flour from the earliest harvest, of top quality²¹ (cf. Exod 15:21; 18:12); or perhaps a thicker flour taken out of the hull first and suitable for baking bread.

Line 7. *הרכב* — This is a difficult word, and opinions have differed as to its meaning since the first publication

of this ostrakon. At that time, I tended to accept the suggestion of Prof. Z. Ben-Haim, that a mistake was made in the spelling, and the last two letters were reversed. The scribe meant to write *הרכב*, meaning "to prepare and mix" the flour (to a dough), and then make bread. Reversal of letters is a common mistake in hasty writing (cf. Inscription 10:2), and *הרכב* appears in this meaning in the Bible (Lev 6:14; 7:12; 1 Chr 23:29). It is doubtful whether the fact that it is mentioned in the Bible as a technical term in religious rites would contradict its usage in everyday life, as Gibson believes.²² The root is known in Accadian and Arabic, too,²³ and in the Mishnah we have the form *רבוכה* (Men 7:1-2). Thus there is no need to assume that the verb was used only in Hiph'il (הרכיב), but possibly both the Kal and Pi'el forms were in use (הרכב, הרכיב).

This suggestion was rejected by various scholars. Albright,²⁴ Freedman,²⁵ and Cathcart²⁶ suggest connecting the verb to the word *רכב* — the upper millstone,²⁷ and they conclude on the basis of this ostrakon that a verb meaning "to grind" developed out of this noun. There is no authority for this meaning, especially since the verb *סחן* appears in the Bible meaning "to grind", and furthermore one doesn't grind flour, but rather wheat. There is also no hint that what was meant was a further grinding of flour into farina, as Freedman suggests.

Brock's suggestion, giving the word the meaning "to put together",²⁸ better suits the sense of the letter. However, it is difficult to agree with his attempt to connect this meaning to "רכב ערפת" in Ugaritic.²⁹

In the preliminary publication, I did not notice the near parallel of the formula under discussion to that found in Inscription 5: *שלח מאתר מעור הקמח הראשון... קמח* (and cf. Inscription 6). Thus it would seem more likely that the verb *הרכב* here has a meaning similar to that of the verb *שלח* in Inscription 5. A similar suggestion was made by Otzen, who reads *Tarkib* in the Hiph'il, citing several passages in the Bible in which the verb means "to transport" objects on wagons (מרכבות) (2 Sam 6:3; 2 Kgs 9:28; 23:30). Thus he translates:³⁰ "Und von dem übriggebliebenen Teil des Besten Mehles lass so und so viel Mehl auf einen Wagen laden (oder: auf einem Wagen abtransportieren), damit sie sich Brot machen können".

It should be noted that in Inscription 24 from the same period (and perhaps written by the same scribe), the Hiph'il form is written fully with the *yod*, but in jussives, the form *הרכב* is expected, such as *חאכל* (Ex 3:3; and cf. Deut 13:1; 1 Sam 7:8; 1 Kgs 2:6; Prov 30:6; Job 40:32).³¹ However, it cannot be supposed that transport by wagon was intended. The usual beast of burden, reflected also in the ostraca of Arad (Inscription 3), was the donkey. Thus it appears that what is meant is "to take by donkey". The expression *להרכיב על חמור* is known from the language of the Mishnah (e.g. Bekoroth 4:6); kinship between the idioms of the Second Temple Period and the language of the ostraca appears also in other examples (e.g. Inscription 40:14).

The flour measure is given only as a sign (), and there is no certainty as to its meaning. A similar sign

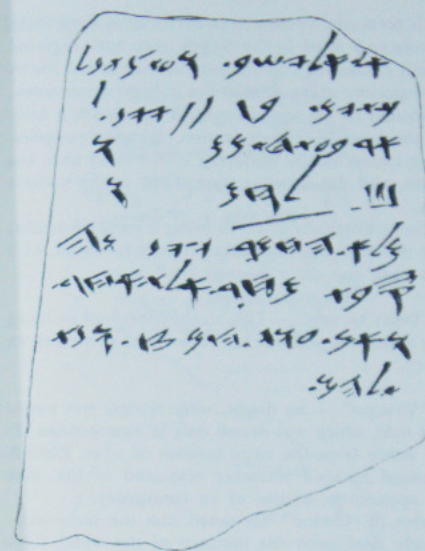
appears in Inscription 18; there this amount is given to one man, but there is no reason to suppose that it was meant for him only. It is different from the sign appearing at the beginning and the total of a list of wheat at Arad (Inscription 31), and from the sign in the papyrus from the Judean Desert.³² It also differs from the sign found in the ostrakon of Samaria, whose meaning is also unclear.³³ Thus the only consideration possible is its ratio to the three baths of wine given in the beginning of the letter. In another ostrakon (Inscription 2), the Kittiyim received two baths of wine and 300 loaves of bread. According to this, we may suppose that the amount of flour alluded to must have been enough to bake 450 loaves of bread — and for this the homer or the kor measure would surely have been needed, as Albright and Otzen have suggested.³⁴

Lines 8–9. “To make bread for them” — it is difficult to accept Otzen’s suggestion that this means that they would make their own bread. This meaning is difficult linguistically, and also presents two textual difficulties: 1) If flour is given directly to the Kittiyim, why would this fact not be stated rather than writing about sending flour? 2) Obviously, the flour is meant for baking bread, and there would be no need to state this if the baking were to be done by the Kittiyim themselves. It follows that the bread was not baked in the citadel of Arad, but was sent to a special baking place, surely nearby, where the Kittiyim were then given the baked bread.

Lines 9–10. “Wine from the *aganoth*-bowls” — “אגנו” was a vessel, possibly the open bowl common to this period.³⁵ It seems that the wine from the *aganoth*-bowls was a certain type of wine, preserved or diluted in these vessels (cf. Cant 7:3). Apparently, at the end of the letter, the writer specifies the type of wine mentioned at the beginning, as he previously stated the type of flour.³⁶

1. *Enc. bibl.* I, col. 353–354 (Heb.).
2. Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 18 (1968), pp. 168f.; *Beth Mikra* 2 (1969), pp. 22–23 (Heb.).
3. As opposed to Noth, *Personennamen*, p. 213.
4. The only appearance of אגנו in letter 6:2 is doubtful. *Vid.* the discussion of Tur-Sinai (Torczyner) in *Lachish* I, pp. 106ff. and the alternative translation of Diring, *Lachish* LII, p. 334.
5. *Murabba'at*, p. 96.
6. Cf. H. A. Brongers, *Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch des adverbialen u'attak im Alten Testament*; *VT* 15 (1965), pp. 289–299.
7. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, New Haven 1952, pp. 52f.; D. N. Freedman, *IEJ* 19 (1969), p. 52.

8. A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford 1910, pp. 339ff.
9. Cf. *Enc. bibl.* IV, col. 394–396 (Heb.). There is no basis for the hypothesis of A. J. Brawer (*Yediot* 30 [1966], pp. 258–259 [Heb.]) and Y. Brand (Sinai 72 [1973], pp. 109–260 [Heb.]) that we should read כותים, the name of the Samaritans, or כתיים, meaning members of a military sect (כתי). Cuthim, i.e. Cutheans, as a generic name for Samaritans belongs to the Second Temple period, and כתיים as sectarian has no documentation.
10. Lemaire also suggested that the Kittiyim might have been Greek merchants (Lemaire, *Ostraca*, p. 317 *IH*; p. 156), but he agrees that they are more probably mercenaries. Their large number (50 or 100) makes it impossible for them to have been merchants, and *vid.* below p. 145.
11. M. Kochavi, “The First Season of Excavations at Tell Mahata”, *Qadmoniot* III (1970), pp. 23–24 (Heb.).
12. J. Naveh, *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 97–99.
13. *Vid.* also H. Tadmor, *BA* 29 (1966), p. 102.
14. Diring, *Iscrizioni*, p. 37.
15. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 22 (1972), pp. 1–5.
16. W. F. Albright, *AASOR* 21–22 (1943), pp. 58f., n. 7; *Lachish* III, p. 356.
17. *Beer-Sheba* I, 71. At Beer-Sheba, a jug has now been discovered with the inscription חצי למלך (“Half to the king”), with a capacity of 1.2 liters. If half of the ‘issaron (a tenth of a bath) is meant, then the bath contained 24 liters.
18. Cf. Cross-Freedman, *Orthography*, pp. 53, 56; D. N. Freedman, *IEJ* 19 (1969), p. 53; A. F. Rainey, *Leshonenu* 36 (1972), pp. 186–189 (Heb.).
19. Diring, *Iscrizioni*, p. 86; Gibson, *Textbook*, p. 23.
20. Cross-Freedman, *Orthography*, p. 50; D. N. Freedman, *IEJ* 19 (1969), p. 53.
21. Gibson, *Textbook* I, p. 52.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 870.
24. *ANET Suppl.*, p. 569.
25. D. N. Freedman, *IEJ* 19 (1969), p. 55.
26. K. J. Cathcart, *VT* 19 (1969), pp. 121–123; and *vid.* also Gibson, *Textbook*, p. 52.
27. *Vid.* Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 891.
28. S. P. Brock, *VT* 18 (1968), pp. 395–7.
29. *Vid.* Cathcart, *op. cit.*
30. B. Otzen, *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 239–242; *vid.* further S. Mowinkel, *VT* 12 (1962), pp. 277–299; Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 314f, *IH*, p. 158.
31. *Vid.* A. B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, Edinburgh 1901, p. 89. I am indebted to Prof. Rainey for this footnote.
32. *Murabba'at*, pp. 97f.
33. Diring, *Iscrizioni*, p. 72; Moscati, *L'epigrafa*, p. 38; Milik, *Murabba'at*, p. 97.
34. *Vid.* also Lemaire, *Ostraca*, p. 315, *IH*, p. 158. I thought at first that the ephah was meant, since I had read 3 instead of 300 by mistake in Inscription 2.
35. *Vid.* J. L. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the Old Testament*, *BASOR*, *Suppl. Stud.*, 5–6 (1948), pp. 15f.
36. The translations of Albright, “serve the wine in punch bowls,” or of Gibson, “some of the wine in the bowls you shall give,” do not fit what is written. Perhaps what is meant is a mixture of wine and water, as in the Greek custom of diluting the wine in kraters; *vid.* Lemaire, *Ostraca*, p. 316, *IH*, p. 159.



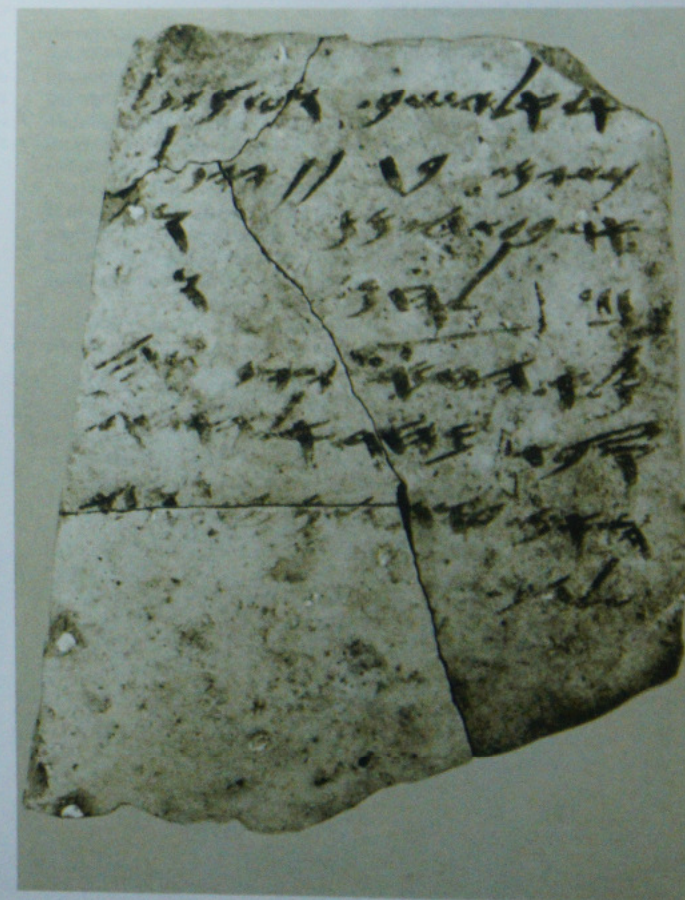
Inscription 2

To Eliashib: And now, give the Kittiyim 2 baths of wine for the four days, and 300 (loaves of) bread. And a full homer of wine, bring tomorrow; don't be late. And if there is yet vinegar, give it to them.

Line 3. “The four days” — the definite article in the expression seems to refer to a specific concept, and not to just any four day period. One possibility is that the scribe meant a specific holiday or ceremony which took four days, such as the traditional mourning for Jephthah's daughter in Gilead (Judg 11:40). However, since one cannot suppose that the Kittiyim were meant to stay in Arad, but rather that the provisions were given for the road, it seems more likely that “the four days” meant a specific journey which took four days from Arad. As will be seen in the sequel, the road from Arad to Kadesh-Barnea is probably meant, and this throws interesting light on the organization of the roads and the relationship between the fortresses in southern Eretz-Israel.

Line 4. “300 (loaves of) bread” — the number is written in hieratic,¹ another example of the use of hieratic numerals in Judah and Israel during the monarchical period.² Before the number, an additional sign is written in the margin. If this is not a mistake, or traces of earlier writing,³ it may be that the scribe added the letter *kaf*, abbreviation for כיכר (loaf) — since certainly 300 loaves of bread was meant. In the Bible, too, amounts of bread are often written without the word for loaf (e.g. 1 Sam 25:18; 2 Sam 16:1), but there are cases where the word is used (e.g. 1 Sam 10:3; Jer 37:21). See the summary (p. 145) for

1. אל אלישבע ועתה נתן ל-
כתים ב (תים) 2 יין ל-
ארבעת הימים ו-
300 לחם ו-
מלא החמר יין ו-
סבת מחר, אל תאחר.
ואם עוד חמוץ, ונת-
ת להם.
2. אל אלישבע ועתה נתן ל-
כתים ב (תים) 2 יין ל-
ארבעת הימים ו-
300 לחם ו-
מלא החמר יין ו-
סבת מחר, אל תאחר.
ואם עוד חמוץ, ונת-
ת להם.



conclusions as to the number of men in the unit adduced from the amount of bread allotted to them.

Line 5. "A full homer of wine" — the homer measurement contains 10 baths (Ex 45:11, 14). It is generally accepted that the homer was a dry measure only, and the corresponding wet measure would be the cor.⁴ However, in this inscription it is clear that the homer was used also as a wet measure, as in Ezekiel (45:14): "because 10 baths are a homer". As to the expression "a full homer", meaning the full measure of a homer, cf. "his hands full" (Lev 16:12), "a full omer" (Exod 16:32-33), "his hands full" (Lev 16:12), "a handful of meal" (1 Kgs 17:12), "a full reed" (2 Sam 8:2), "a full homer" (Ex 41:8), and so on.

Lines 5-6. *הסבת מחר* — In the Bible, the verb *הסב* means "to turn" (e.g. Josh 6:11), and from this "to remove", "to turn away" (e.g. 2 Sam 20:14), and also "to bring", as "and the ark of God was brought to us" (1 Chr 13:3).

It is clear that "a full homer of wine" was not meant for the Kittiyim, who are given only two baths of wine as provisions for "the four days."⁵ Since it is not written to whom to bring the wine, it must be supposed that the meaning of the term was clear. It seems that the noun with the same meaning was mentioned in the Lachish letters (9:4): *כי אם בחסכתה בקר*. This is translated by Tur-Sinai: "Because if in his turning he had inspected", and he defines that word *הסבה* as "turning, survey tour".⁶ Other scholars have not accepted his reading "בחסכתה" and have read "הבקר בחסכת", assuming that this was some activity which would be done the next morning. The phrase "בחסכת הבקר" was translated:

- "in the turning of the morning";⁷
- "in the course of the (coming/tomorrow) morning";⁸
- "by the close of tomorrow morning";⁹
- or "some time tomorrow morning".¹⁰

These differing translations show that the word *הסבה* in connection with "morning" hasn't yet been explained satisfactorily, and its definition has remained pure guesswork with no basis in linguistic examples. It seems to us that the appearance of the word *הסבה* in this Arad ostrakon strengthens Tur-Sinai's proposal. Even if one accepts the hypothesis of the other scholars—connecting the *he* to the word *בקר*, reading *הבקר בחסכת* — it seems that we have before us a military term which can be translated "in the survey tour of the morning", i.e. it will be done only during the morning tour (tomorrow). This meaning fits both contexts.

Now this term can be more exactly defined. Lachish in the lowlands and Arad in the Negev were both regional centers with command over various fortresses and towns in their respective areas. Within the military framework, the commander or his appointee must have made a daily tour for the purposes of inspection, bringing supplies, and giving orders in the outlying towns. This tour was called *הסבה*, and the supplies were *מוסבים* to the various fortresses.

From the instructions given to bring it on the morrow, it can be deduced that the writer lived near Arad, in a town less than one day's journey from it.

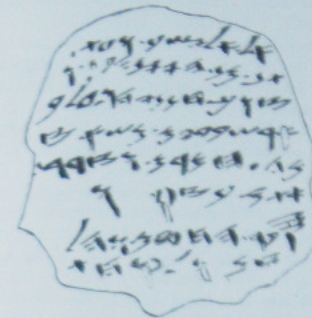
Line 6. "Don't be late" — This sharp command to bring the wine tomorrow without fail shows that there was an emergency.

Line 7. "Vinegar" — no doubt, wine vinegar was meant (cf. Exod 6:3), which was drunk only in emergencies (Ps 40:22).¹¹ Aside from the large amount of wine, Eliashib was required to send whatever remained of the wine vinegar, apparently in time of an emergency.

[However, B. Levine¹² has noted that the same letter has already dealt with the issuance of the wine; there does not seem to be a shortage. Therefore, he compares Ruth 2:14, *וסבלת פתח בחמץ*, and suggests that *real hōmeq* was meant, as a supplement to the ration of the Kittiyim.]

1. Cf. G. Möller, *Hier. Pal.* III, p. 61, No. 634.
2. Y. Aharoni, The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and the Shekel Weights, *BASOR* 184 (1966), pp. 14-16; appears in Hebrew in *Sefer Shmuel Yevon*, 1970, pp. 309-317.
3. There are palimpsests among the ostraca, *vid.* especially No. 31.
4. *Ency. bibl.* IV, col. 852 (Heb.); Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 312f.
5. For this reason it is also difficult to accept another possible reading suggested by Rainey, that the scribe wrote *bet* instead of *pe*, as in Inscription 24 (lines 13, 17) and meant the verb "and you shall add". If the Kittiyim had already received two baths of wine for "the four days" — how can "a full homer", that is 10 baths more, be added the next day? [Lemaire, *IH*, p. 162, n. 32, suggests that the passage be read, "et le retour de demain, ne retarde pas." He suggests that there is an overlapping in the semantic range of the roots *šwb* and *šbb*.]
6. *Lachish I*, pp. 79, 82.
7. H. G. May, *BASOR* 97 (1945), p. 25.
8. W. F. Albright, *ibid.*, p. 26; F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 144 (1956), p. 25.
9. W. F. Albright *apud* Cross, *ibid.*, p. 26.
10. Gibson, *Textbook I*, p. 42.
11. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* III, col. 186 (Heb.).
12. B. A. Levine, *Shanaton leMiqra' uleHeqer Hamizrah Haqadum* 3 (1978), 289.

Inscription 3



אל אלישבע.
תן מן היין 3 (בתיים). ו-
צורה חנניה על ב-
אר שקבע עם משא צ-
מור חמור, וצורת
אתם קצק, ו-
ספר החטום והל-
הם, ולקחת

אלה,

3

וארמם

1. אל אלישבע.
2. תן מן היין 3 ב (תיים).
3. צורה חנניה על ב.
4. ארשבוע עם משא צ.
5. מור חמור וצורת.
6. אתם קצק, ו.
7. ספר החטום והל.
8. חטום ולקחת.
9. הצד האחרון.
10. אלכמ.
11. רי.
12. ל.
13. וארמם, ה.
14. מ.

To Eliashib, and now: Issue from the wine 3 baths. And Hananyahu has commanded you to Beer-Sheba with 2 donkeys' load and you shall wrap up the dough with them. And count the wheat and the bread, and take... To you... And Edomites...

Line 2. The scribe uses the simple imperative *תן* instead of the infinitive *נתן* used in other letters. This may be the personal style of the scribe, and the handwriting also shows that this letter was written by a different person.

The wine was supposed to be given to the deliverer of the letter, whose name was not written. According to the amount of wine, similar to that in the two preceding letters, it seems that here, too, a military unit was the recipient.

The abbreviation of the bath measure is written after the number. It is a pity that it is not written clearly, but it appears that here, too, there is a diagonal line, signifying an abbreviation.

Line 3. Hananyahu (Hananiah) is a popular name in the Bible.¹ Two people of this name are known from this period: The father of Zedekiah, one of Jehoiakim's ministers (Jer 36:12), and Hananiah the son of Azzur, the prophet of Gibeon, who lived during the reign of King Zedekiah (Jer 27). Hananyahu in this letter was no doubt a commanding officer or a minister whom Eliashib had to serve. There is no reason to identify him specifically with that Hananiah who was father to the minister Zedekiah.

Line 3. *וצדק על* — "וצדק על" means in biblical language "to appoint (someone) commander", such as *וצדק על ישראל* "...and shall have appointed thee prince over Israel" (1 Sam 25:30); *וצדק על חנניה שר הכזירה* "I gave my brother Hanani and Hananiah the governor of the castle charge over Jerusalem" (Neh 7:2). A similar meaning attaches to *וצדק על* in the Bible: *וצדק על בני ישראל* "And gave them a charge unto the children of Israel and unto Pharaoh to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt" (Exod 6:13); here meaning to send them to a certain place in order to accomplish some task,² which is no doubt the meaning in the ostrakon under discussion. Eliashib is appointed by Hananyahu to go to Beer-Sheba in order to carry out a specific task. From the character of this task, discussed below, we learn that Eliashib was given authority over Beer-Sheba in order to carry out the commission.

Line 4. Beer-Sheba — This is the first time this city is mentioned outside of the Bible. As we shall see in the summary, Tell Beer-Sheba is not meant here, as it was in ruins at the time, but rather the unfortified city near it. The distance from Arad to Beer-Sheba is 30 km. by air, and nearly 40 by road. It is possible to march this distance in one day — with effort.

Lines 4–5. The 'ayin is the only letter whose reading is uncertain. The traces may also be read *dalet*, but the context renders the 'ayin more likely. It appears that the end of the right-hand line is not the line which crosses a yod, but rather a word divider, and the left-hand line of the letter is obliterated.

משא — As a concept of the weight a beast is able to carry, it appears in the Bible in connection with mules (2 Kgs 5:17) and camels (2 Kgs 8:3). *משא חמור* is mentioned

in Exodus 23:5, and the homer measure is basically the measure of how much a donkey can carry (*חמור/חומר*) (cf. Gen 44:13; 45:23; 1 Sam 25:18; Neh 13:15).

This is the first epigraphic example of the use of the donkey as the major beast of burden still at the end of the monarchy. "A pair of donkeys" — it was normal for two loaded donkeys to be driven by one man (cf. Jud 19:3,10; 2 Sam 17:1). The concept "two mules' burden" (*משא צמד מרדים*) appears in the Bible (2 Kgs 5:17).

Lines 5–6. As to transporting dough wrapped up in cloth, cf.: *וישא העם את בצקו טרם יחמץ משארתם צורת בשמלתם על*. "And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders" (Exod 12:34). The fact that dough was sent from Arad to Beer-Sheba also shows that the great storehouses of Beer-Sheba no longer existed at that time. Sending the dough shows that there was an emergency; the day of march is used to leaven the dough, which thus arrives ready to bake.³

Lines 7–8. Here begin the instructions to Eliashib, telling him what to do in Beer-Sheba.⁴ Unfortunately, only the first two lines have been preserved from what were originally at least six lines of instructions. Eliashib is commanded to make an inventory of the grain and bread. As to the term used for counting the grain, cf.: *ויצבר יוסף בר כחול הים הרבה מאד עד שחול לספר כי אין מספר*. "And Joseph laid up the corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until they left off numbering; for it was without number" (Gen 41:49).

What he was supposed to take with him was written on the reverse of the ostrakon; but unfortunately, only the first word has been preserved: *אלכ* (אליך). In line 11, the number 3 appears, and in line 12 the word (ואדומים) *ואדמ*, from which it appears that Eliashib's mission and this emergency situation were connected with the approach of the Edomites (and *vid.* Inscription 24).

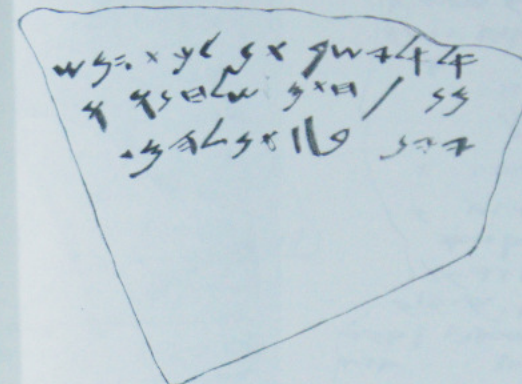
1. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* III, col. 218–219 (Heb.). Hananyahu son of Gera appears in the Gibeon inscriptions (J. B. Pritchard, *Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 11) and in Hebrew seals (Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 182, 184, 208).

2. As translated by Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 797: call up, appoint, order a person (to a place, for a task). [B. Levine, *Shanaton* 3 (1978), 289, has compared Esther 4:5, *ותצוה על מרדכי*, with 4:10, *ותצוה אל מרדכי*, where *על* is synonymous with *אל*, both simply meaning "to." Thus the Arad passage, means simply that Eliashib is commanded to go to Beer-Sheba. AFR]

3. [Lemaire, *IH*, p. 165, proposes to read *by* instead of *byq*. However, we are not convinced by the photograph. If, nevertheless, Lemaire were correct, we would suggest *byq* (ר), "in a bundle." Lemaire's additional idea, *loc. cit.*, to interpret the passage, "presse-les étroitement," "presse-les sans relache," is far fetched. AFR]

4. [B. Levine, *loc. cit.*, assumes that Eliashib was commanded to take an inventory of the supplies at Arad rather than at Beer-Sheba. Although he is correct that lines 3–4 do not imply an appointment to take command at Beer-Sheba, Aharoni's interpretation still may be valid as regards the inventory. AFR]

Inscription 4



1. אל אלישב תן לתים ש-
2. מן 1, תתם ושלחנו ו-
3. יין ב ונתבלחמ.

To Eliashib: Give the Kittiyīm 1 (jar of) oil, seal and send it. And 1 bath of wine give them.

Lines 1–2. This short ostrakon has no opening formula. After the name of the addressee, the letter begins straightaway with the imperative "give". Even the rough script and the lack of punctuation between words shows that this letter was not written by one of the scribes that wrote most of the letters. This ostrakon and Inscription 17 (*vid.* also Inscriptions 7, 10, 12–14) speak of sending oil. The oil was not meant for those who delivered the letters, but was sent via these people, sealed. From this fact it would seem that the oil was not meant as provision for the road, but rather was sent as provisions for the various fortresses (*vid.* Inscription 17). The amount, indicated by the number 1, is unaccompanied by the name of the measure. Thus it appears that there was a

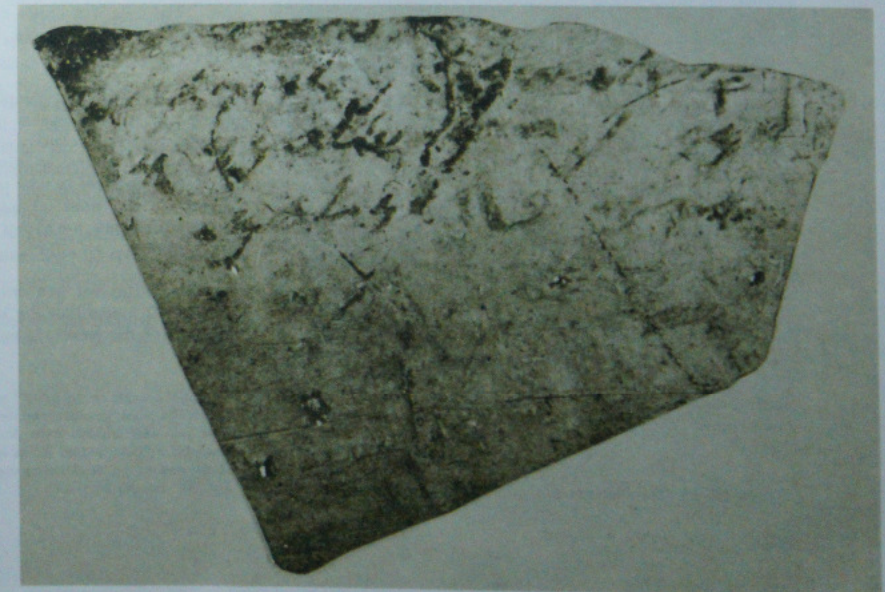
standard vessel for oil which was sealed and sent, a "nebel" of oil, as recorded in the Samaria inscriptions.¹ The most likely vessel is the normal standard jar which was found in quantities in the storehouses of Beer-Sheba; its capacity is about 25 liters (one bath).²

Where the oil is to be sent, *i.e.* the destination of the Kittiyīm, is not mentioned.

Line 3. The ostrakon ends with the instruction to give wine to the Kittiyīm, no doubt as provisions for their journey, as in previous letters. In the light of the other letters, the first line appears to be the abbreviation for bath, leaving one line to indicate the number 1.

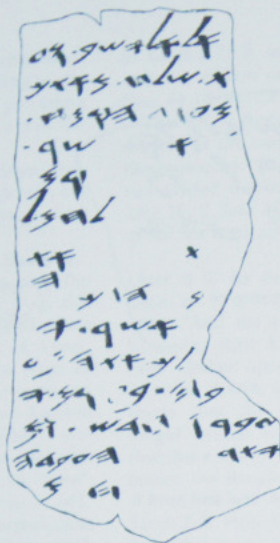
1. Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, p. 37.

2. *Beer-Sheba* I, Pl. 57:8–16. The capacity ranges between 24 and 26 liters, only one jar (No. 14) holding somewhat less (21 liters). Possibly these jars were meant to hold one bath. As to the bath measure, see above, Inscription 1, footnotes 16 and 17.



Inscription 5

1. אל אלישב, וע-
2. ת: שלח מאתך.
3. מעור הקמח.
4. ה[נר]א[שן]א[שר]
5. קמ-
6. לחמל
7. ת את
8. ה
9. ב הוב
10. אשרי
11. לכאתהמע
12. ב בטרמי
13. עבר החדש ומ-
14. יתר העברה
15. ח מ



To Eliashib: And now: Send from you from the rest of the first flour which ... flour to make bread for the Kittiyim... Benayahu... who will send (?) you the ti[the] baths before the month passes. And from the rest... work...

As in Inscription 1, instructions are given to "send from the rest of the first flour". It seems that an additional definition of the type or place of the flour was given, but only the word "which" has been (partially) preserved.

In line 6, the word "bread" is decipherable, from which it seems that here too the flour is to be sent in order to make bread. Probably the amount of flour was given.

The name of the people for whom the bread was meant was not preserved. However, in the light of the other ostraca, the word Kittiyim is the most likely. Thus we arrive at the following formulation, reminding us of Inscription 1: "Send from you from the rest of the first flour which... (measure) flour to make bread for the Kittiyim."

Other matters are discussed in the rest of the letter.

Line 9. It appears that here was a name ending in "-yahu". This is perhaps the man to whom the tithe is to be sent.

Lines 10-11. The letters are clear, aside from three or four letters on the right side which are missing. In line 11, the letters are contiguous with no sign of separation, but there is no doubt in the reading: "who will s[en]d you the ti...". The likely completion of the last word is "tithe".

Lines 12-13. Two letters are missing at the beginning of

line 12, probably the last two letters of the word "tithe" (מע[שר]).

The first preserved letter is *beth*, and it appears that there is a diagonal line after it, i.e. the abbreviation for bath. The sign for the number which should come afterwards is nearly effaced.¹ If this reading is correct, a fixed quota was imposed here as a tithe; and since the bath is a liquid measure, only wine or oil could have been meant.

"Before the month has passed" — cf. Amos 8:5: מתי יעבר החדש "When will the new moon be gone?"; where *hōdeš* means the new moon, as elsewhere in the Bible.² By contrast, in this inscription the month itself is meant; a certain amount of time is given for the payment of the tithe. This, too, is a usage documented only from the time of the Second Temple, and cf. Inscriptions 1:6-7; 40:14.

Line 14. The proposed completion "tithe" (מעשר) fits the term "work" which appears in this line. Unfortunately, the type of work remains unknown, since a word of three or four letters is missing before "work". It is apparently necessary to take or to send something "from the rest of the... work". Since "the rest", or what is left over, is mentioned, we gather that the product of some work is meant.

Line 15. In the last line only single letters have been preserved. It seems that the letter was continued on the other side of the ostrakon, but the writing is completely effaced.

1. It is also possible to read "ב", assuming that these are the last letters of a word, in which case the lines would read: "...who will send you with it (אתה) from A...ba before the month passes." However, no place named A...ba is known to us, and the mention of the end of the month does not help in this reading.

2. Enc. bibl. III, col 36 (Heb.).

Inscription 6

1. אל אלישב, ו[עת]:
2. שלח מאתך אל
3. יחזיהו
4. לח
5. השמן
6. בשל



To Eliashib, and now: Send from you to Yahaz[yahu] 3 (00?) [loaves of] bread...the oil...

Here, too, a consignment is discussed; the opening is similar to that of Inscription 5. Bread is apparently mentioned in line 4; the sherd is broken beneath the numeral, but it seems likely that the amount should be 300, as in Inscription 2. Perhaps before the numeral, flour or bread was written; oil also is mentioned.

Of special interest in this ostrakon is the name of the recipient written in line 3. Only the first three letters of the name are legible: יחז; but the remains of the following letters point to the name יחזיהו.¹ This name appears in the Bible as Jahzeiah (יחזיה).² It was discovered recently in the inscription on a decanter from Judah, and Avigad discussed the meaning of the name and its parallel forms in the Bible and in Phoenician and Hebrew inscriptions.³ Probably this Yahazyahu was commander of one of the southern fortresses, like Elisha son of Jeremiah in Inscription 24; unfortunately, further details have not been preserved.

Judging by the two other small pieces, this ostrakon contained at least three more lines of script, making a total of at least nine lines.

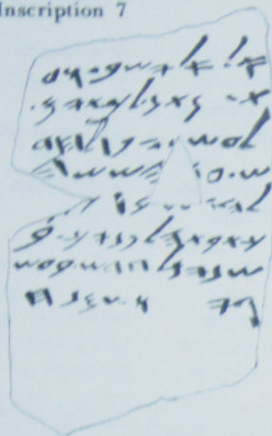
1. The reading יחז is also possible; cf. יחזאל (Jahazeel) [Enc. bibl. III, col. 671 (Heb.)] and a Hebrew seal "יחזאל" (Dinger, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 171f.).

2. Enc. bibl. III, col. 636 (Heb.).

3. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 22 (1972), p. 4.



Inscription 7



To Eliashib, and now: Give the Kittiyim for the tenth month, on the first of the month up to the sixth of the month, 3 baths. And write before you on the second of the month, in the tenth month. And oil se[al and send]...

Lines 3-5. "For the tenth month, on the first of the month up to the sixth of the month" — the reading is



1. אל אלישב ועת
2. תנתנ לכיתים
3. לעשריב ו לחד
4. ש ער הששה
5. לחדש ב ו לחד
6. כתבתה לפניך ב
7. שנים לחדש בעש
8. רי ושמן ח
9. תם ושלחנ

certain, clearly giving two dates. The first day of the tenth month was the day on which the supplies were given, and the sixth day ended the period for which the provisions were intended. Again we have here a period of 4-5 days march, as in Inscription 2 and in the following ostrakon (No. 8). Apparently in all three cases, provisions were issued for the same road: to Kadesh-Barnea. לעשריב means the tenth month. This manner of abbreviation is especially common in the book of Ezekiel, e.g. "בעשרי בחמשה לחדש" "In the tenth month, in the fifth day of the month" (Ez 33:21), etc.

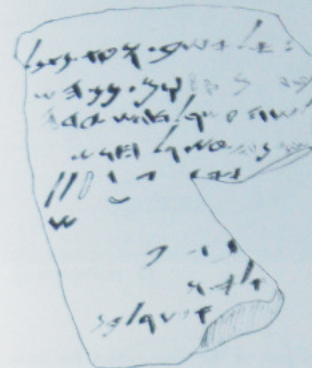
Line 5, "3 baths" — surely meaning three baths of wine.

Lines 6-8. "And write it before you" — cf. אשר כתב לפני בני ישראל "which he wrote before the children of Israel" (Josh 8:32). Final he as mater lectionis in the second person qtl appears in the Lachish letters (2:6, 3:8) and also in Inscription 40:9. [Admittedly, the he in those Lachish passages could be construed as an accusative suffix, but this seems unlikely in the present context. In Massoretic Hebrew, the accent would be on the last syllable in second (and first) singular qtl when continuing a command (after waw) as here; this might account for the preservation of the final vowel. AFR]

The mem of the word שנים could also be read as a tav, but לעשריב is most likely the correct reading. בעשריב again means "in the tenth month": cf. Haggai 1:15: ביום עשרים וארבעה לחדש בששי "In the four and twentieth day of the month, in the sixth month". Why was Eliashib supposed to write it down on the second of the month, when the provisions were to be given on the first? As will be seen below, it seems that the stock of the storehouses was totalled and recorded at the end of each month (vid. Inscription 7:8). Possibly because of this inventory, provisions were usually not issued on the first of the month. Apparently the writer instructed Eliashib to give the supplies on the first of the month, in contrast to usual practice, probably because of an emergency, and to total the stock only the next day, the second of the month. In the light of this supposition, "write it before you" means recording the monthly inventory.

Lines 8-9. The script ends with the word "oil", and the letter het, after which there are remains of at least one more row of writing. Comparing this ostrakon to Inscription 4, we have completed: [תם ושלחנ

Inscription 8



1. אל אלישב ועת נתן ל
2. כתב [ו] קמ מו.הש
3. לשהעשרלחדש. ערה
4. שמונהעשרלחדש
5. יין ב ו לחד
6. ש
7. נת ב
8. אלי
9. אשרלכנ
10. אשר

To Eliashib, and now: Give the Kittiyim 1(?) homer of flour from the thirteenth of the month until the eighteenth of the month, and 3 baths of wine...

to me...
which...

This ostrakon is written in small closely-spaced letters, and only the first five lines are legible.

Line 2. After the word "Kittiyim", there was apparently a sign for the homer (or cor) measure, as in Inscription 1:17. After this sign, the letters קמ are clear, no doubt meaning קמה. Perhaps this is an abbreviation, but as this word was usually written fully, it may simply be an oversight of the scribe. [But compare now the newly discovered text, Inscription 112, below. AFR]

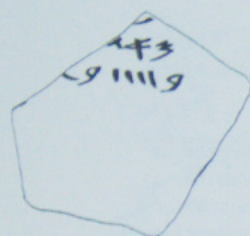
Lines 3-4. Even though some of the letters are faded and difficult to read, there is no doubt in the reading: "From the thirteenth of the month until the eighteenth of the month". Similarly to the previous inscription, two dates are named — the date of supply, and the date until which the supplies were supposed to last. The number of days are identical in both inscriptions: the provisions were meant for six days from the date of supply, which were perhaps only four days of marching, if one does not take into account the first day when the supplies were issued at Arad, and the last day, when the Kittiyim arrived at their destination.

Line 5. In addition to flour, 3 baths of wine are to be given them, an amount equal to that in Inscription 1. In that text, Eliashib was ordered to write the date, and here the dates were fixed in advance.

Only single letters are legible in the rest of the ostrakon.



Inscription 9



To Eliashi] b, [and now: send] from [you] 3 baths of [wine] on... [of the month...]

Even though only a few remnants of three lines of writing were preserved on this small sherd, it is clear that the opening was similar to that of Inscriptions 5 and 6. Since the sign for bath appears, it seems likely that the subject was a consignment of wine. The four lines after the *bet* may mean 4; cf. Inscription 17:8. However, in comparison with the rest of the ostraca, it is more likely

Inscription 10

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| אל אליש[ב, ועת: | 1. [שכ.ועת. |
| נתן לבתים יין ב[(ת) (1) | 2. [ימ.וינב 1 |
| ולח[ם > מא[תים, ושמן 1 | 3. [מ.אמתימ.ושמן/ |
| ח[תם לבן עבדוהו ש[לח | 4. [תמ.לבנעבדיוהו |
| בירי ה[כתים | 5. [כתימ |

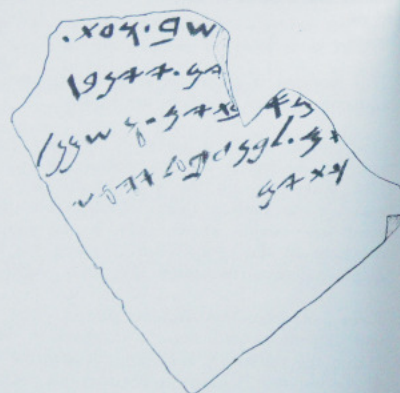


To Eliashib, and now: [Give the Kittiyim 1(?) bath of wine and 200 [loaves of bread]. And one [s]ealed (jar of) oil to Ben Obadiah, se[nd in the hands of the] Kittiyim.

Lines 1-2. The completion of these two lines is certain, the only doubt being the amount of wine. After the sign of the bath, there is an empty space, and thus it seems that only one bath was meant. There are, however, remnants of four faded lines, and it is difficult to decide whether these are remains of a previous inscription (palimpsest), or whether one should read "4 baths".



that the first line is part of the abbreviation for bath. Apparently the date follows; the bit of diagonal line preserved after the *bet* leads to the conclusion that the lowest possible number could be 10.

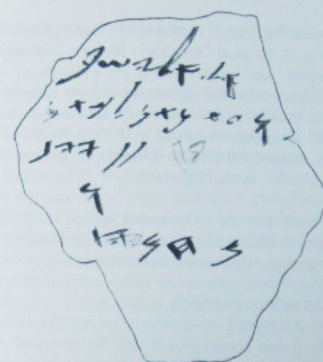


Line 3. The letters *מאמתיים* are reasonably clear, and it is doubtful whether there is room for another letter between the *aleph* and the *mem*. Since wine was mentioned first, and oil is discussed later, it seems that bread is what is missing. Furthermore, one must assume that letters were reversed in the word for 200: *אמתיים* instead of *מאמתיים*. This is a reasonable amount, in comparison to other ostraca; in Inscription 2, 300 loaves and 2 baths are written, and here 200 loaves of bread and one bath of wine.¹

Lines 3-5. One jar of oil is mentioned, and we have completed the sentence in comparison with Inscriptions 4, 13, and 17 in which oil was sent in a sealed container, and brought to its destination by the Kittiyim. Ben Obadiah was probably the commander of the fortress to which the Kittiyim were going. Obadiah is a common name, and was also found recently on a seal from Beer-Sheba.²

1. Lemaire, *IH*, p. 170, prefers to read *מאמתיים* [...]
2. Beer-Sheba 1, pp. 75f.

Inscription 11



- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| אל אליש[ב, | 1. אל אלישב |
| ועת: נתן לבתים | 2. ועת נתן לבתימ |
| [מאתה?] ב[תים] 2 יין | 3. ב 2 יין |
| 1 | 4. 1 |
| מ[נ] חמיהו | 5. מ[נ] חמיהו |

To Eliashib, and now: Give the Kittiyim (from you?) 2 baths of wine... and ... from Nehemyahu...

This is an order to give the Kittiyim 2 baths of wine and probably also a certain amount of bread, but the end has not been preserved.

Line 3. Before the sign of the bath, there is room for another word. According to Inscriptions 5 and 6, perhaps one should complete "from you".

Line 4. The *waw* copulative surely begins a new subject, and it is written after an empty space, as in Inscriptions 2 and 4. Before it, there is space for 5-7 letters. Possibly here was recorded the amount of bread, as in other ostraca, however this part has been almost completely effaced.

Line 5. Only the name Nehemyahu (Nehemiah) has been preserved (*vid.* 31:3), or Menahemyahu.



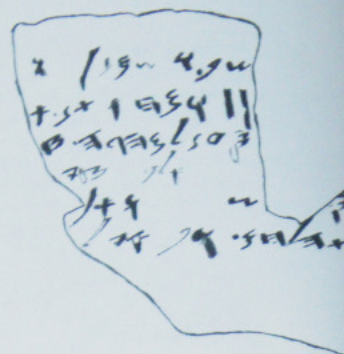
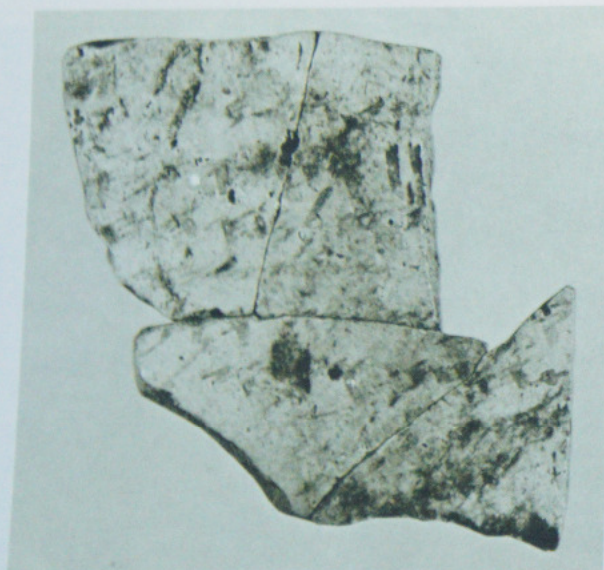
Inscription 12

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| אל אלי(שב. קוח) שמן ו-1 | 1. [שב. ק. שִׁמְנִי] |
| (מידה) 2 קמח ותן אנתם | 2. [11 קמח ותנא |
| לקו) סעגל מהרה | 3. סעגלמהרה.צ |
| | 4. אלב צו |
| א) | 5. ס ש וא |
| ת הלחם. ו... | 6. תהלחם. וב איל |
| | 7. |

To Elia]shib. Take one (jar of) oil and two (measures of) flour and give them to Kaus'anal quickly...
... the bread ...

Line 1. After the addressee, Eliashib, of which only the last two letters of the name are preserved, the only legible letters in this line are *qoph*, *mem*, and a diagonal line which usually symbolizes some amount of oil (*vid.* Inscriptions 4 and 17). We have thus completed the line: "Give one (jar of) oil". This ostrakon has no opening formula, as in Inscription 4.

Line 2. Before the word for flour, the numeral 2 is written — or perhaps a larger number, if one or two lines are missing beforehand. The symbol for the



measure which should have been written before the number has not been preserved.

Line 3. The word "quickly" is clear; *cf.* Inscription 17, where again oil is to be sent "quickly". Before this word, the letters are clear, and before them are vestiges of the letter *samak*. Apparently the Edomite name Kaus'anal was written; this name is known from about the same period from seal impressions found at Tell el-Kheleifeh.¹ Apparently this ostrakon instructs Eliashib to give provisions of oil and flour to an Edomite.

Line 6. "The bread" are the only words legible in the last part of the letter. Probably the preparation or sending of the bread was already discussed beforehand.

¹ I. N. Glueck, *BASOR* 71 (1938), p. 16.

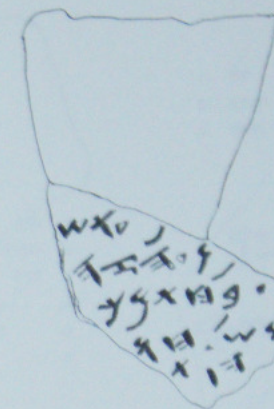
Inscription 13

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| תש- | 1. מ.ת.ש |
| לח את הש[מן הזה | 2. מ.נ.ה.ז.ה |
| [וחתם] בחתמו | 3. ב.ח.ת.מ.ו |
| ושלחו | 4. ו.ש.ל.ח.ו |
| ל...הו | 5. ה.ו.ת |

... se[nd] this [o]il [and seal it] with your ... and send it [to ... y]ahu

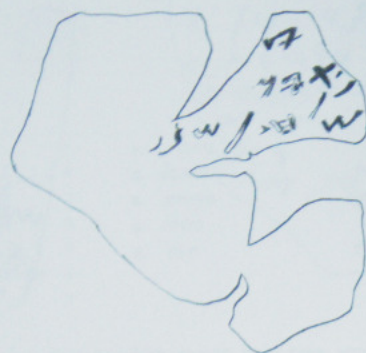
Only the script on the lower part of the ostrakon has been preserved; this was the middle of the letter. From this section we learn of a consignment which was to be sent sealed by the seal of the addressee. Comparing this ostrakon with Inscriptions 4 and 17, we have assumed that oil was to be sent, and thus, completed the first part of line 2. If this completion is correct: "send this oil" — then clearly the amount and type of oil would have been given earlier, as well as how it was to be prepared. Thus the writer apparently repeats his instructions to send it to a person whose name ended in -yahu.

This addressee is unknown. Perhaps it is Eliashib, as in the majority of the inscriptions, but it could also have been someone sent to Arad in order to take the oil and send it, as in Inscription 17.



Inscription 14

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| אל אל(ש)וב, ועת: | 1. יש |
| נתן ל(כ)תים | 2. כתימ |
| ו(ש)לח 1 שמך | 3. שלח / שמך |



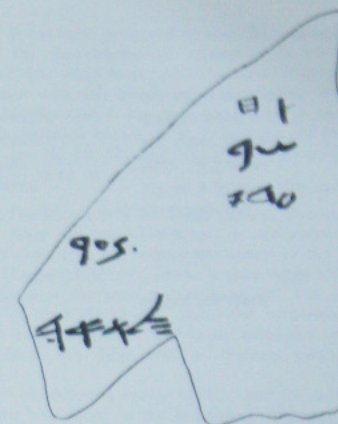
[To El]iashi[b, and now: Give to the] Kittiyim ... [and] send 1 (jar of) oil.

Even though very little has been preserved in this ostrakon, it seems that the subject is again provisions (of wine and bread?) to the Kittiyim, and a consignment of one (jar of) oil, as in Inscriptions 4, 6, and 10.



Inscription 15

- | | |
|----------------------|----------|
| אחנה... שלח לשלם אל- | 1. אח |
| שב... | 2. שב ו |
| | 3. ערי |
| נער | 4. נער |
| א(ה)ל ואחנה | 5. הלואח |
| | 6. |



[Your] brother [... greets Elia]shib and ...
... lad ...
tent and your brother ...

This ostrakon is written in thick and relatively rough script on a piece of a jar which is thicker than usual. The right-hand part is complete, but on the left a large portion is apparently missing. It seems that the beginning of the letter is here preserved, and the lines seen above line 1 are soot smudges.

The contents of the ostrakon are extremely incomplete, and any restorations are hypothetical.

Lines 1-2. The first two letters, spelling the word for "brother", show that this is a letter with an opening similar to that of Inscription 16. Thus possibly the first two letters of the second line belong to the name Eliashib, and we complete the opening formula as in Inscription 16. It is not possible to know if it continued in a similar manner, or whether the word [עת] "and now" appeared afterward.

Line 4. Only the word נער "lad" is clear, and the punctuation mark appearing before the nun confirms this combination of letters.

No doubt this was part of the title of some petty officer, either a civil or military clerk.¹ [This is now confirmed by Inscription 110. AFR]

Line 5. There is no punctuation between the letters, but the combination of letters לו "not" seems unlikely in any context; thus the reading [ואח] has been adopted. Before it is a word ending in הל. The most fitting word we could come up with was אהל "tent"; there was no dearth of tent-dwellers in the Negeb and along the southern roads. However, this is purely hypothesis.

1. Vid. *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 555, 561 (Heb.).



Inscription 16

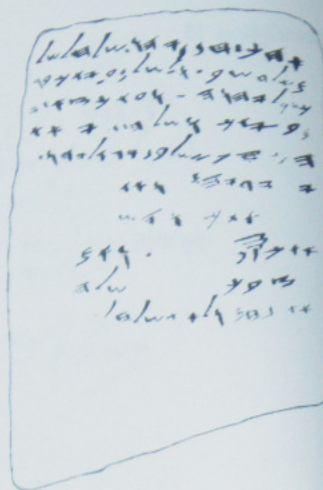
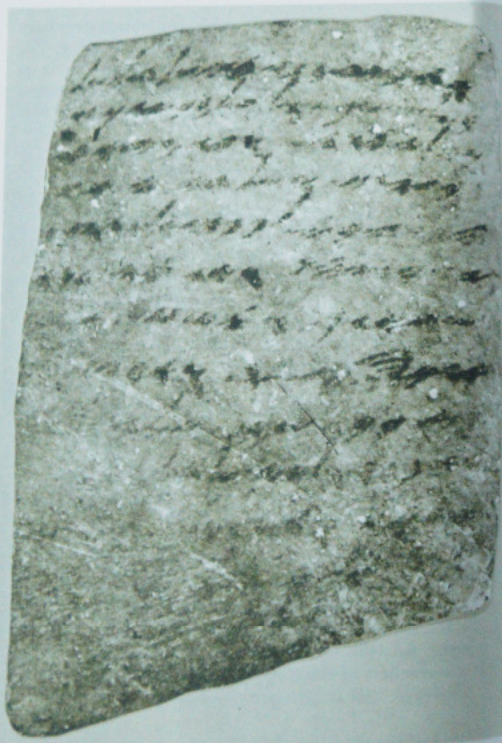
1. אחיך חנניהו שלחלשל
 2. מאלשכחשלמביתכבך
 3. כתלחיהו ועת כצאתי
 4. מביתכ ושלחתי את
 5. ה[ס]ם שלכנאליהו.
 6. י[נ] דריתו ואת
 7. אתל ושל
 8. אתכספ ואמ
 9. צככ שלח
 10. אתנחמ ולאשלחל
- אחך חנניהו שלחלשל
מאלשכחשלמביתכבך
כתלחיהו ועת כצאתי
מביתכ ושלחתי את
ה[ס]ם שלכנאליהו.
י[נ] דריתו ואת
אתל ושל
אתכספ ואמ
צככ שלח
אתנחמ ולאשלחל

Your brother Hananyahu greets Eliashib and your house. I have said a blessing to the Lord for you, and now: When I left your house, I sent the money, 8 shekels, to the sons of Ge'alyahu in the hand of 'Azaryahu, and the ... with you ... the money ... he sent Nahum and don't send ...

This ostrakon is written in small crowded letters, and the ink has faded to the extent of disappearing in the color of the grey sherd. All of this makes the reading difficult. The only certain rendering is the beginning of the letter (lines 1-3), and it is clear from the continuation (and especially line 8), that a consignment of money is discussed here. The rest of the readings are to be considered as tentative.

Line 1. "Your brother" — as is customary in the ancient Near East and in the Bible (e.g. Num 20:14; 1 Kgs 9:13).¹ It doesn't necessarily mean a real brother, but someone of the same rank as the addressee. Similarly, in other letters the opening "your son" appears (Inscriptions 21, 40), which evidently means that the writer is of an inferior rank to Eliashib.

Hananyahu — this name also appears in Inscription 3. Since in both cases the name appears without the patronymic, and both come from about the same period, we can assume that the same person was meant. The difficulty in the identification is that in Inscription 3 Hananyahu appears as Eliashib's superior, ordering him to execute some task, and here he opens the letter as a man of equal rank. However, if our reading of line 10 is correct, then here, too, he gives Eliashib instructions. At any rate, even if Hananyahu has a higher civil or military



rank than Eliashib, both of them are senior administrators, or officers, which justifies the use of the formula "brother".

Lines 1-3. This is a fixed opening formula, repeated again in Inscription 21: "X inquires after the welfare of Y, I have blessed you to the Lord." Similar formulas appear already in Canaanite letters such as the Taanach tablets (No. 1), and an El-Amarna letter (No. 96),² and also in Ugaritic writings.³ Apparently a similar formula appears also in the papyrus from Wadi Murabba'at.⁴ As to the formula "I have blessed you to the Lord," cf. "I have blessed you to Baal-Zaphon and to all the gods of Dafna" in a Phoenician inscription from Sakkara,⁵ and "I have blessed you to Yaho" in an Aramaic ostrakon from Elephantine.⁶ In the Bible cf. "Blessed be thou of the Lord (1 Sam 15:13). We might have expected a *yod* in the word (ברכתך), as in *שלחתי* in the next line, but this is a very common formula that has apparently preserved its historic spelling.

Only the *yade* and the *aleph* are certain; however, this reading seems logical in the light of line 4. The first letter is not a *yod*, but it is possible to read *mem* instead of *kaph*. The end of the word is also uncertain, but since in the following line the word *שלחתי* appears, it seems likely that here, too, the first person is used.

Line 4. Aside from the first, all the letters are clear. Thus, the reading is certain up to the end of this line.

"Your house" — the fortress of Arad or the storehouse within it is meant, as in Inscription 17. The choice hinges on the question of Eliashib's position — whether he was commander of the fortress or director of the storehouse; vid. the discussion in the general summary.

Line 5. הכסף — we completed the word according to its appearance in line 8. Actually, only the *he* and the *pe* are certain. The second letter is completely rubbed out. The third letter can be *zayin* or *yod*, but the long lines are more likely the lower two lines of the *samek*.

ש 8 — *shin* as an abbreviation for shekel appears in the ostraca from Tell Qasileh⁷ and from Mešad Hashavyahu,⁸ and is known from Aramaic inscriptions.⁹ The numeral is made up of two parallel horizontal lines — the hieratic numeral 8.¹⁰

"To the sons of Ge'alyahu" — the only letter in doubt is the *yod* of בני, which could also be read either *aleph* or *lame*; however, in comparison with other *yods*, such as in Hananyahu (line 1), the reading *yod* is possible. בני גאליהו seems more probable than בנת גאליהו, although the latter is a possibility. The name Ge'alyahu is known from a seal impression found at Beth-zur "To Ge'alyahu son of the

king".¹¹ It has been proposed to identify him with Yigal, one of the descendants of Jehoiakim (1 Chr 3:22), assuming that this was an abbreviation of Yigalyahu. In accordance with this possibility, the reading יגאליהו should be considered, but it is doubtful.¹² A particular family is doubtless meant, as in Inscription 49 (and vid. Inscriptions 10, 23, 55, and 56), where various families are named "sons of ...".

Line 6. The letters דריתו are fairly certain. Before them, there is room for one wide letter, or two narrow ones. There is also room for one or two letters at the end of line 5. The probable completion is thus דריתו [בן]. For the formulation "to send by the hand of", vid. Inscriptions 17:9 and 24:12-13. 'Azaryahu (Azariah) is a common name in Judah, and many examples of it are known from the Bible and in Hebrew epigraphical material.¹³

The continuation is barely legible, and the only clear words are "the silver" at the beginning of line 8. In the middle of lines 6, 7, and 8, the letter *waw* is clearly discernible at some distance from the preceding letters — it would seem that in each case this *waw* introduces a new sentence, as in Inscriptions 2 and 3.

Line 10. The script fades away in the lower part of the ostrakon, so there is no certainty as to the reading of this line. For the name Nahum, see Inscription 17; possibly this is the man sent on the mission. If the reading "and don't send" is correct, here is proof that Hananyahu gives instructions to Eliashib, as in Inscription 3.

1. Cf. *Enc. bibl.* IV, col. 969-970 (Heb.).
2. *Ibid.*; also A. F. Rainey, *Leshonenu*, XXXV (1970), pp. 14-15.
3. D. Kaiser, *Zum Formular der in Ugarit gefundenen Briefe*, ZDPV 86 (1970), pp. 10-23.
4. Vid. J. T. Milik apud P. Benoit et al., *Discoveries in the Judean Desert II: Les Grottes de Murabba'at*, Oxford 1961, p. 96. It is difficult to read the photograph (Pl. XXVIII) with certitude, but the following reading may be proposed: יחזקאל שלם שלם (יחזקאל שלם שלם) ועת.
5. M. N. Aïm-Giron, *ASAE*, Cairo 40 (1940), pp. 433ff.; A. Dupont-Sommer, *PEQ* 1949, pp. 53ff.; S. Smith, *ibid.*, p. 57.
6. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 130 (1945), pp. 1 ff.; vid. also Jean-Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire*, p. 44; Weippert, *Edom*, pp. 380f.
7. B. Maisler (Mazar), *The Excavations at Tell Qasileh, Eretz-Israel I* (1951), p. 67 (Heb.).
8. Y. Aharoni, *The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and the Shekel Weights*, *BASOR* 184 (1966), p. 19.
9. Jean-Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 318f.
10. G. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, II, p. 55; III, p. 59; No. 621.
11. Düringer, *Inscriptioni*, pp. 127, 341.
12. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* III, col. 461 (Heb.).
13. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* VI, col. 161-163 (Heb.).

Inscription 17*

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| אל נחם, [ו]עת: ב- | 1. אלנחמ: [ו]עת ב |
| א ביתה אלישב | 2. אביתה אלישב. |
| בו אשירו ולקח | 3. בנ אשירו ולקח |
| ת משם ו שמן | 4. תמשם / שמן |
| שלח לזף מהרה | 5. שלח לזף מהרה |
| חתם אתה בח | 6. חתמאתה בח |
| תמך | 7. תמכ |
-
- | | |
|------------|-----------------------|
| הצר האחורי | 8. בצלחחדש נתנ נחם ש- |
| | 9. מן ביד הכתי — 1. |

To Nahum, [and] now: Go to the house of Eliashib son of Eshiyahu and take from there 1 (jar of) oil, and send (it) to Ziph quickly, and seal it with your seal.

Reverse

On the 24th of the month Nahum gave oil into the hand of the Kittī — 1.

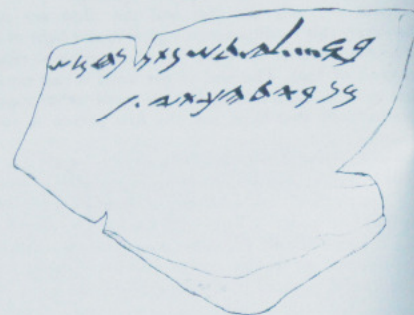
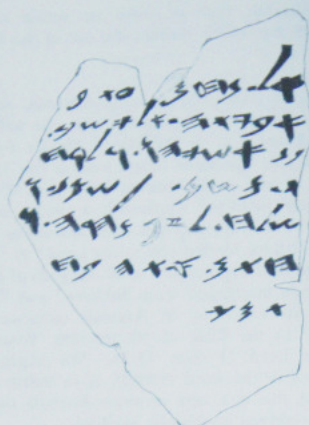
Line 1. Nahum. This is the only ostrakon from Eliashib's archive in which the addressee is clearly not Eliashib himself. It is obvious how this ostrakon got to the archive and why it was kept: Nahum was commanded to go to Eliashib in order to take oil from him, and the letter served as an order slip.

The name Nahum, known from the Bible as the name of the prophet Nahum, and appearing in Nehemiah 7:7, also appears on seals.¹ Possibly his name was also mentioned in Inscription 16 (line 10), and if our reading is correct, he was then also sent on a task. From the ostrakon under discussion, it is clear that Nahum was not a resident of Arad, but his home town is not given.

Line 2. ביהא — cf. "and when these went into Micah's house and fetched" (Judg 18:18). In the Bible there are parallels to this construct form with the *he* directive only in the patriarchal stories (Gen 28:2; 33:17, 24; 44:14; 47:14; Ex 8:20). The ostrakon under discussion proves that this is not only an archaic or literary form. The simple imperative "בא" parallels the imperative "ת" in Inscriptions 3 and 4, and "שלח" in Inscriptions 5 and 6. It means here "go to", since it is unlikely that the writer lived in Arad. [Perhaps the addition of the *he* directive on the adverbial accusative serves to give this force to the verb. AFR]

[On the other hand, the *-he* in this construction may be understood differently. It is possible to read אלישב ביהא, "his house, (viz. of) Eliashib." This is a rare construction, the noun standing in apposition to the suffix. However, it

* Preliminary publication, *vid.* Y. Aharoni, The use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and the Shekel Weights, *BASOR* 184 (1966), pp. 14-16; the same in Hebrew, *Sefer Shmuel Yevin*, 1970, pp. 300-317.



is the basic structure of the Gezer Tablet as noted many years ago by Honeyman, *JRAS*, 1953, pp. 53-58. AFR]

Lines 2-3. Eliashib son of Eshiyahu — this is the only ostrakon in which the patronymic of Eliashib is written; and this is no accident. The rule was that the addressee of the letter is named only by his personal name, whereas other persons mentioned in the letter may be given their patronymic also, in order to avoid mistakes, as in Inscription 24.² This is the only ostrakon not addressed to Eliashib, the only one in which he is mentioned in the third person. The full name of Eliashib son of Eshiyahu is also known from three seals found in one of the rooms of the wall in Stratum VII (*vid.* below, Inscriptions 105-107).

The name Eshiyahu is not known from the Bible or from other inscriptions, however it appears at Arad in an additional ostrakon from Stratum VIII (Inscription 51; *vid.* also Inscription 35:2; 40:11). A diminutive of this name is known from an Aramaic inscription (אשי, Eshi),³ and cf. אשא from the Samaria ostraca.⁴ The same component apparently appears in the biblical name אשבעל Eshbaal (1 Chr 8:33; 9:39), which was usually changed to the pejorative Ish-bosheth.⁵ This son of Saul's was apparently also called ישוי (1 Sam 14:49),



which is thought to be a distortion of the name יאשאו (Josiah) = אשירו (Eshiyahu).⁶ The name ישיה = ישיה appears often in the Bible, and is known as the name of one of the branches of the Levites.⁷ Abbreviations of this name are ישיה and ישי. Thus we have vocalized the name

Eshiyahu according to the biblical pointing of the name Eshbaal.

Another possibility was suggested by Prof. Albright, namely to take the name Eshiyahu as an abbreviation for Josiah (יאשירו), following the example יכניה — בנייה.⁸

Albright proposes that Eliashib son of Eshiyahu was one of the sons of the King Josiah, and that this southern commander was the brother of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, and the uncle of the young king Jehoiachin who reigned apparently at that time. As we shall see below, Arad was at that time the main fortress in the south, and in the Bible there are hints that kings' sons were given command over the fortress cities of Judah (2 Chr 11:23). However, the identification of the names is not certain, and is not sufficient proof for such a proposition.

Lines 3-4. *וּלְקַח מִשֶּׁם* — the second word is barely legible, and in the preliminary publication I read *מִשֶּׁם* paralleling the word *מִשֶּׁם* in Inscriptions 5, 6, and 9, and the word *מִשֶּׁם* in line 6 of this inscription.⁹ However, the traces of the two letters fit *shin* and *mem* better, as Lemaire has suggested.¹⁰ In any case, there is no difference in meaning between the two readings. 1. Oil — one vessel (*nebel*) of oil, *vid.* Inscription 4:2.

Line 5. *וְשֵׁלַח* — the writer uses the simple imperative here and in the next line (*וְשֵׁלַח*).

After the word "send", there is a *lamed*, and afterwards remains of two faded letters. In the preliminary publication, I completed the word "שֵׁלַח" (me), but this word is too short. It is also difficult to assume that the oil was meant for the writer, thus it seems that a place name is needed. The only place name in the list of Negeb cities whose name (in Hebrew) comprises only two letters — is Ziph (Josh 15:24), and the remains could well fit the letters *zayin* and *pe*. The more northern Ziph, in the mountain region (Josh 15:55), as found on the royal seals of Judah is usually written *זיפ*, but sometimes in plene writing as *זיפה*.¹¹ The name of the southern Ziph was perhaps preserved at ez-Zeifeh, southwest of Mampsis (Qurnub).¹² In this area, east of Be'er Yeroham, two fortresses from the Israelite Period were discovered,¹³ about 30 km. distant from Arad (one day's march). Even if this identification is doubtful, it may still be assumed that the oil was meant for one of the fortresses of the Negeb.

The formula "שֵׁלַח ל..." is often found in the Bible (e.g. Gen 32:19; 1 Kgs 15:19; 2 Kgs 2:6; Jer 48:12; 2 Chr 2:7, 14; 16:3).¹⁴

מִהֵרָא — cf. 2 Sam 17:15; 18:21 etc. The order to act quickly, without delay, is also given in Inscription 2:6, and cf. Inscription 12:3.

Lines 6-7. Nahum was ordered to send the oil sealed with his seal, thus Nahum, too, was a government official who had a seal for sealing official dispatches.

Oil sent in a sealed container was also mentioned in Inscription 4, and apparently in Inscriptions 7, 10, and 13. From this we learn that oil was sent in a narrow-mouthed vessel, whose mouth could be easily stopped with a bit of clay on which a seal was impressed.

The Reverse

A comment on the fact and date of delivery was written on the other side of the ostrakon. Clearly this was written in Arad, thus furnishing us with proof that the storehouses of Arad kept a scribe for recording deliveries.

The script itself is in a handwriting different from that of the obverse. The addition is written in a different direction altogether, in contrast to the usual practise of turning the sherd one complete turn in order to continue a letter on the reverse (Inscriptions 3, 18, and 24). There are dots separating the words, as there are in the body of the letter. There is also a striking difference in the forms of the letters of the alphabet on each side (*vid.* table, p. 134).

Line 8. On the 24th of the month — the first sign is the hieratic numeral 20.¹⁵ Similar dates appear also in Inscriptions 7, 8, 9, and 32, and see the instruction "write the name of the day" in Inscription 1:4. In most cases, only the day of the month is written, and not the month itself; the only exception is Inscription 7. A possible explanation is that inventory was taken once a month, and *vid.* above Inscription 7.¹⁶

Lines 8-9. As a matter of fact, what is recorded is not that the oil was delivered to Nahum, as the letter required, but that the oil was given to the Kitti. Since the record was written at Arad, and the sealed oil was meant for delivery to another place, it was clearly given to the Kitti in order to bring it to its destination. It follows that Nahum himself did not come to Arad, but sent a messenger in his stead, a Kitti who was under his command. Thus it appears that Nahum was the commander of a corps of Kitti mercenaries, perhaps even commander of one of the Negeb fortresses where troops of Kittiyim were stationed.¹⁷

1. Dinger, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 124f; Moscati, *L'epigrafa*, pp. 77f; N. Avigad, *IEJ* 15 (1965), pp. 230f; *Enc. bibl.* V, col. 800-801 (Heb.).
2. However, *vid.* Inscription 16, where, in addition to the sons of Ge'alyahu, 'Azaryahu, and Nahum are named without patronymic; and Inscription 3, where Hananyahu is mentioned.
3. F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 184 (1966), p. 8.
4. *Id.* Dinger, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 42f.
5. *Enc. bibl.* I, col. 749-750 (Heb.).
6. B. Maisler (Mazar), *Yedi'ot* 13 (1947), p. 112 (Heb.); R. Kittel and P. Kahle, *Biblica Hebraica*, Stuttgart 1949, p. 427; J. A. Soggin, *Revista degli Studi Orientali*, 40 (1965), pp. 89ff.
7. *Enc. bibl.* III, col. 900-901 (Heb.). And *vid.* F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, p. 64.
8. *Id.* ANET, *Suppl.*, p. 569; Y. Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967), p. 102, footnote 15 (Heb.).
9. *BASOR* 184 (1966), p. 14.
10. Lemaire, *Ostraca*, p. 329.
11. P. Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 38-40; Beer-Sheva, I, p. 76.
12. Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 17 (1967), p. 7.
13. *Op. cit.*
14. Contrary to Lemaire's opinion (*Ostraca*, pp. 330f.). There is also no need to place an *aleph* before the *lamed*, as he suggests.
15. G. Möller, *Hier. Pal.* III, p. 60, No. 624.
16. Lemaire (*Ostraca*) p. 336, *IH*, p. 179 pointed out the same administrative procedure in Mari and Ugarit, *vid.* M. Birot, *Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du palais, Archives royales de Mari* 9, Paris (1960), pp. 291-295; C.H. Virolleaud, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* 2, Paris (1957), p. 116, No. 16.398; p. 125, No. 17.106.
17. It is difficult to accept Lemaire's suggestion (*Ostraca*, pp. 333f., *IH*, p. 179) that Nahum was Eliashib's deputy. Since he was instructed to come to the house of Eliashib, it follows that Nahum did not live at Arad.

Inscription 18*

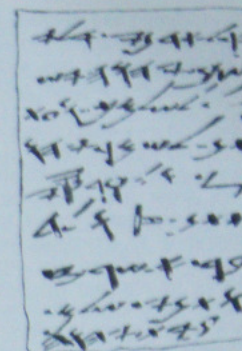
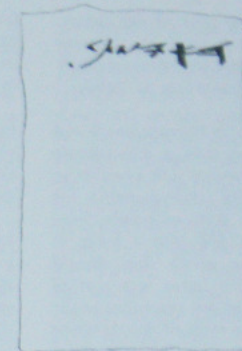
אל ארנו אל
שב יהוש
אל לשלמך ועת
תו לשמוריהו
לתר (?) ולקרסי
תתן חמר (?) ולך
בר אשר צ
ותני — שלם (לו)
בית יהוש
ה צד האחורי
הא יושב

1. אל ארנו אל
2. שב יהוש
3. אל לשלמך ועת
4. תו לשמוריהו
5. ולקרסי
6. תתן חמר
7. בר אשר צ
8. ותני שלם
9. בית יהוש
10. ה צד האחורי
הא יושב

To my lord Eliashib, May the Lord seek your welfare, and now: Give to Shemaryahu a lethech (?), and to the Kerosi give a homer (?), and as to the matter which you commanded me — it is well; he is in the house of God.

This letter was sent by one of Eliashib's inferiors, as can be seen from the form of the opening formula. The name of the sender was not written; from the contents of the letter, it seems that the sender was on a mission for Eliashib, apparently in Jerusalem, from where he sent

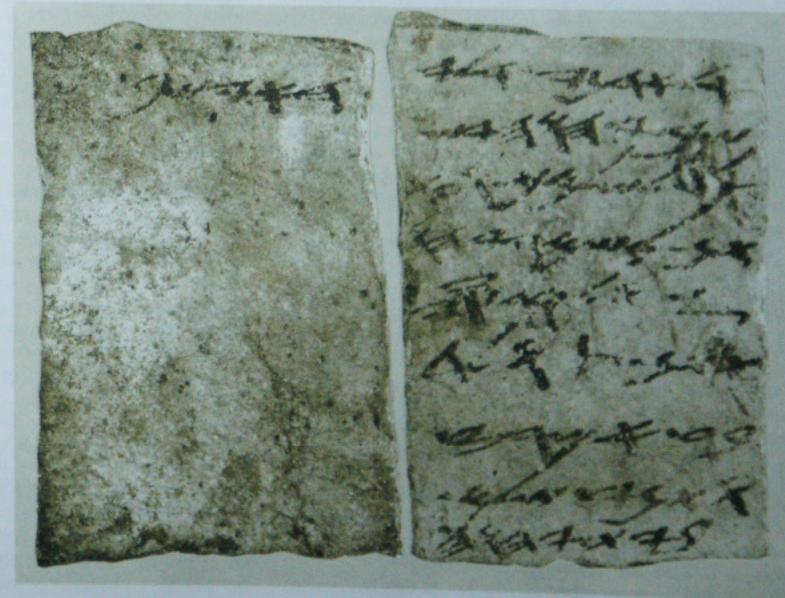
* Preliminary publication Y. Aharoni, Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Arad, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 5-7; the same in Hebrew in *Yedi'ot* 30 (1966), pp. 36-38.



the letter to his superior officer. Thus the name of the writer was known to Eliashib; possibly his name was given by the messenger who delivered the letter. It was the same in the Lachish letters; there, too, a subordinate sent letters to this commanding officer and the name of the sender is given in only one of the letters (No. 3).¹

Line 1. To my lord Eliashib — this is similar to the opening formula of some of the Lachish letters (No. 2, 4).²

Lines 2-3. May the Lord seek your welfare — this is an ancient formula known already from the Canaanite period.³ It should be noted that it is a different opening from that used in the Lachish letters. Lacking additional examples, we can only ask whether the choice of formula



was accidental and depended on the taste of the writer, or whether different formulas were used in different administrative branches, such as military administration in Lachish and perhaps civil administration at Arad.

Line 4, η — a direct imperative, as in Inscriptions 3 and 4. At first glance, it is surprising that a subordinate should give orders to Eliashib, however it is possible to learn from this something of the arrangements for issuing supplies. Persons sent on state missions, here apparently to Jerusalem, are provided with a letter in which are detailed the provisions which they should receive on the way (at Arad). This letter is a sort of requisition-voucher which is a matter not pertinent to the rank of the writer in relation to the rank of the recipient (Eliashib). On the other hand, it is clear that the writer of the letter is part of the governmental administration; and as Eliashib's subordinate, he alone has the authority to handle these requisitions. [The use of the imperative to one superior in rank should not be surprising. Imperatives are addressed to God in the Psalms (AFR).]

Sometimes the writers take advantage of the opportunity and add other things to the letter. If the writer ranked higher than Eliashib, he would add instructions and orders; if he were of lower rank, such as in this case, he would add information and a report on his actions and on the tasks assigned to him.

Shemaryahu (Shemeriah) — several people of this name are known from the Bible, from the time of David up to the time of Ezra,⁴ and the name appears in the Samaria ostraca written שמריה .⁵

Line 5. — what Shemaryahu was supposed to receive at Arad was written only as a sign whose meaning is uncertain. Albright compared it to the hieratic sign for the area measure (1/2 aroua), and assumed that Shemaryahu was supposed to receive a piece of land outside of the fortress, perhaps in order to build a house and garden.⁶ This is a far-fetched proposal; it is more likely that here again the subject of the letter is the supply of provisions (food), as in the other ostraca. This sign also appears in four other ostraca (Nos. 31, 33, 42, and 84; *vid.* the table of signs, p. 138), which further strengthens our supposition. Especially important is its appearance five times in Inscription 31, which is a list of grain (חמם). Thus it seems that here too a certain amount of wheat is meant. Comparing the signs of the different ostraca, one can propose that this is the sign for the lethech, which is half a homer (*vid.* Inscription 31:2). The sign appearing in line 6 here is apparently the sign for the homer (cor), and *cf.* Inscription 1:7. Thus we may assume that Shemaryahu received half a homer, that is, five ephahs. This is quite an amount of wheat (or flour), and in comparing this amount with Inscriptions 1 and 2, it can be deduced that about 225 loaves of bread were made from it (see below p. 145). Thus it seems that these provisions were not meant for Shemaryahu alone, but for other people, too, who were with him. One may assume that he was the head of a troop, sent with his forces to one of the fortresses in the Negeb.

The Kerosi — a member of the Keros family, known

from the Bible (Ezra 2:44; Neh 7:47). This is the first mention of one of the names of families of Nethinim in the First Temple Period, which strengthens the tradition in 1 Chronicles 9:1-2 regarding their ancient origins.⁷

The gentilic form הקרוסי , and the fact of his being on a mission at Arad support the hypothesis that at the time of the monarchy, the Nethinim were no longer Temple slaves of inferior degree, but held a position as professionals connected with religious functions.⁸

Line 6. — this sign is identical to that which appears in Inscription 1:7 as a unit of flour, which we interpreted as the homer measure.⁹ This fits the appearance of the previous sign in the list of grain. Thus it would appear that the Kerosi received one homer of wheat or flour, in contrast to the half-homer that Shemaryahu received. This is a large amount (that was enough for baking 450 loaves of bread, *vid.* above, Inscription 1:7). So it seems that the Kerosi was not alone, but appeared as the representative of a larger unit of men. Since he is mentioned by family name alone, connected to his family's role in the ritual, we may assume that this was a group of Nethinim sent to the area for some cultic purpose. Unfortunately, there are no further details; however, from the continuation of the letter and from the mention of "the house of the Lord" in line 9, it appears that Eliashib's command was connected in some way with the Temple. This may be linked to the fact that the "house of the Lord" at Arad existed up to Stratum VII, and was destroyed finally during the reign of Josiah, about a generation before this letter was written.¹⁰ Even though the sanctuary at Arad was no longer rebuilt, some of the priestly administrative duties were still performed, no doubt, as before, such as the collection of tithes. Probably during the time of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah there was a partial relapse from the great reform of centering the cult in Jerusalem ("And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" — 2 Kgs 23:37; 24:19; 2 Chr 36:5,12). The dispatch of a group of men under the Kerosi perhaps can be understood as a renewal of certain ritual practices outside of Jerusalem, but there is no further proof of this.

Lines 6-10. The reading of the eight words is uncertain; however, the relationship of the words and their meaning can be interpreted in various ways. In the preliminary publication, I wrote as follows:¹¹

"The meaning is: 'As to the matter which I have commanded — it is well' — that is, the thing is done, all is well. 'He (the man commanded) sits (in peace) in the house of God.' For the expression ישב בית instead of ישב *cf.* Jer 36:22; *vid.* Num 21:1 in contrast to Num 33:40.

"A second possibility, less likely, is to combine the word שלם to the words following it, and to interpret thus: 'As to the matter which I have commanded — it will restore (שׁיב) the peace of the house of the Lord' (or else שלם means an altar for peace offerings "שלמים"). Perhaps Eliashib commanded his messenger to request help for the rebuilding of the sanctuary at Arad and received a promise that indeed it would be restored? But this is a

difficult interpretation. Especially working against it is the exaggerated space between שלם and בית יהוה at the beginning of the next line."

Since then, several scholars have discussed this section. Freedman, Otzen, and Lemaire accept my interpretation basically, but suggest the verb שָׁלַם , "paid" instead of the noun "peace", and Freedman compares it to the verse $\text{וְשָׁלַם אֶת הַבַּיִת}$ "So he finished the house" (1 Kgs 9:25).¹² It seems to me that this proposal does not solve the linguistic problem, but exacerbates it. The verb שָׁלַם is a transitive verb, and as such what would have been needed is $\text{שָׁלַם — וְהַדָּבָר}$ "the thing has been finished". In contrast, the noun שָׁלוֹם is common and is usually followed by the preposition "to" (לִי). It is true that usually peace is to someone, and not to something, however I see no difficulty in interpreting it as an abbreviation. From the continuation, we know that a person is meant ("he sits in the house of the Lord"). Thus the following interpretation seems likely: $\text{שָׁלוֹם צִוִּיתִי — וְהַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי}$ "I ordered peace, and the thing which I ordered". Eliashib's instructions concerned a certain person. It seems that this person was in danger, thus the writer of the letter announces that he is well and is in the sanctuary.¹⁴

Several other interpretations have been suggested for the word שָׁלַם . Levine tended to translate it as "an altar for peace-offerings" — שָׁלַם .¹⁵ He read ישב in the hiph'il as שִׁיב (*cf.* 2 Kgs 3:4; 17:3). He referred the reader to biblical verses dealing with "returning" an offering to God, such as $\text{וְשִׁיב לוֹ מִן הָאֵשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר נָשִׁיב לָהּ}$ "What shall be the guilt-offering which we shall return to Him?" (1 Sam 6:4), or $\text{וְשִׁיב אֶת אֲשֶׁמוֹ בְּרָאשׁוֹ... וְאֵם אֵין לְאִישׁ גָּאֵל לְהָשִׁיב הָאֵשֶׁת}$ "And he shall make restitution for his guilt in full... but if the man have no kinsman to whom restitution may be made for the guilt, the restitution for the guilt which is made shall be the Lord's" (Num 5:7-8). He translated the passage in the ostracon: "He will remit the *šelem*-offering of the Temple of Yahweh." This interpretation poses several difficulties. Only restitution of guilt-offerings appears in the Bible, whereas peace-offerings are "raised" (הִעֲלָה) (2 Sam 6:17 etc.). It seems that this is not by chance, but that the instruction "to return, to restore" is connected to the special task of the guilt-offering.¹⁶ Two verbs in the hiph'il appear in Inscription 24; in both cases, they are written in plene writing, with yod (וְהַבְקִידִים , וְהַבְקִידִים). Since the letters are contemporary, we would expect that in this ostracon, too, the hiph'il form would be written with yod (וְשִׁיב). In addition, we have already mentioned the large space left between the words שָׁלַם and בֵּית יְהוָה , which militates against reading these three words in the construct form.

Albright suggested taking the word שָׁלַם as the personal name Shallum, and reading the verb in the future as שָׁלַם .¹⁷ Linguistically, this is perfectly possible, though why he should prefer the future tense is unclear — *cf.* $\text{וּמִפִּיבֹשֶׁת יֹשֵׁב בִּירוּשָׁלַם כִּי עַל שְׁלֹחַן הַמִּדָּר הָיָה}$ "But Mephibosheth was dwelling in Jerusalem; for he did continually eat at the king's table" (2 Sam 9:13).

However, this translation also poses difficulties, aside from the aforementioned space between the words. If the word Shallum begins a new matter, it should be

preceded by a *waw* (וְשָׁלַם), as is usual in these ostraca and in the Bible — such as in the verse quoted in the above paragraph. And what of the three words preceding שָׁלַם ? Albright reads וְהַדָּבָר , assuming that the sanctuary of Arad was meant, and thus he connects the three words to the previous sentence, translating: "...and to the sanctuary (give) what thou didst recommend to me. As for Shallum, he shall stay at the temple of Yahweh." This interpretation is difficult to accept. וְהַדָּבָר is the Holy of Holies of the Temple,¹⁸ and there is no evidence that this word can be used to mean the whole temple, in the way the הֵיכָל can. As noted in the preliminary publications,¹⁹ the temple of Arad was destroyed before Stratum VI, and no longer existed at the time when these ostraca were written. Even if we were unsure of this fact by virtue of our analysis of the excavations, it would be difficult to believe that after Josiah's reform a temple could have existed at Arad. At any rate, the verb צָוָה cannot be translated "recommend". It clearly means "order, command".²⁰ Eliashib's subordinate refers to specific instructions given him, and he has no need to write to his master that he will give to the temple of Arad what Eliashib has commanded him.

Thus it seems impossible to accept the foregoing proposals. As such, I maintain my former position, with a small correction, and read: "And as to the matter which you have commanded me — it is well; he sits in the house of the Lord."

[Subsequently, B. Levine, *Shanaton* 3 (1978), 289, has withdrawn his proposal discussed above. He cites 2 Kings 4:23 as an example of the word *šālôm* in the meaning, "it's all right," "its OK." This is basically Aharoni's understanding of the passage and makes perfect sense. AFR]

It appears that the instructions of Eliashib concerned a man whose life was in danger.²¹ The writer writes that all is well and he is alive in the Temple. The two matters are connected — the man had found a sanctuary in the Temple.

The role of the Temple as a sanctuary is hinted at in various passages (1 Kgs 1:50-51; 2:28; Neh 6:10; and especially 1 Macc. 10:43). These verses speak of the Temple at Jerusalem, but it appears that other temples also served as sanctuaries, such as the altar at Ramah (1 Sam 19:18) and the temple at Beer-Sheba (1 Kgs 19:3). It is true that not only the Temple at Jerusalem was called the "House of Yahweh", but also other Yahwistic temples, such as the one at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:7), apparently the temple at Shechem (Josh 24:26), and also the temple at Arad. However, it should be remembered that these letters are from the end of the First Temple Period, and there is no reason to believe that there were other Yahwistic temples in existence at that time, aside from the Temple at Jerusalem. There is no doubt that the "House of Yahweh" discussed is none other than the Temple at Jerusalem, and that Eliashib's subordinate was sent there by his master. It should be noted that this is the first epigraphic reference to the Temple.

1. Lachish 1, pp. 45ff.; III, pp. 332.

2. Lachish 1, pp. 33ff.; 101ff.; III, pp. 332, 334.

3. W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 94 (1944), p. 17; R. Youngblood, *BASOR* 168 (1962), p. 25; O. Kaiser, *ZDPV* 86 (1970), pp. 151.; A. F. Rainey, *Leshonenu* 35 (1975), pp. 14–15 (Heb.). And *vid. H. Cazelles, Formules de politesse en hébreu ancien, Comptes-rendus du GLECS* 7 (1954–7), p. 25.
4. *Int. Dic. Bib.* IV, p. 323.
5. Düringer, *Iscrizioni*, p. 49.
6. Suggested by H. Goedicke and G. Hughes, *vid. ANET Suppl.*, p. 569, note 19. For the hieratic sign, *vid. Möller, Hier. Pal.* II, p. 61, No. 687.
7. B. A. Levine, Notes on a Hebrew Ostrakon from Arad, *IEJ* 19 (1969), pp. 50f.
8. B. A. Levine, The Netinim, *JBL* 82 (1963), pp. 207–212, "members of a cultic guild".
9. In the preliminary publication, I copied this sign out as a "b" (*IEJ* 16 [1966], p. 5; *Yediot* 30 [1966], p. 36 [Heb.]), but it now seems to me that I mistook a smudge for a line continuing the oblique edge of the horizontal line — and there is actually only a vertical and a horizontal line. Lemaire's suggestion (*Ostraca*, p. 322) that this sign is identical to the one in the previous line is unacceptable.
10. For the history of the temple of Arad, its plan, and its contents, *vid. the preliminary reviews*: Y. Aharoni, *Yediot* 28 (1964), pp. 167–170 (Heb.); *Ha-Universita* 13 (1967), pp. 40–42 (Heb.); *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations* II, p. 476 (Heb.); *Enc. bibl.* VI, col. 379–380 (Heb.); Y. Aharoni, *Archeology* 17 (1964), p. 53; *IEJ* 17 (1967), pp. 247–249; *Ariel* 24 (1969), pp. 28–30; *Archeology and Old Testament Studies* (ed. D. Winton Thomas, Oxford 1967, pp. 395–397; *Orient and Occident*, ed. H. A. Hoffner (*AOAT* 22), Neukirchen, 1973, pp. 1–8.
11. *IEJ* 16 (1966), p. 6; *Yediot* 30 (1966), p. 37 (Heb.).
12. D. N. Freedman, The Orthology of the Arad Ostraca, *IEJ* 19

- (1969), p. 56; B. Otzen, *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 33 (1970), p. 5; Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 323f.
13. *Op. cit.* He considers the possibility of reading: "The house of Yahweh has been completed"; but rejects this reading from historical considerations. His historical considerations do not seem to me to be of consequence, but this reading is impossible because it would leave the last two words *ישב הא* adrift — and they make no sense alone.
14. An instructive example of the abbreviated form of speech appears in Inscription 24:18. *Cf.* also in the Bible: "And as touching the matter which I and thou have spoken of" (*הדבר אשר דברנו*), 1 Sam 20:23 and "For there is peace to thee and no hurt" (*שלום לך ואין דבר*), *ibid.*, verse 21.
15. B. A. Levine, Notes on a Hebrew Ostrakon from Arad, *IEJ* 19 (1969), pp. 49f. And *vid.* a similar suggestion of V. Fritz, *Zur Erwähnung des Tempels in einem Ostrakon von Arad*, *WO* 7 (1973), pp. 137–140.
16. *Vid. Int. Dic. Bib.* V, p. 152.
17. *ANET Suppl.*, p. 569.
18. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* V, col. 323 (Heb.); A. Busin., *Der Tempel von Jerusalem I*, Leiden 1970, p. 601, and the footnotes there.
19. *Vid. above*, note 10.
20. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 797.
21. It is difficult to accept the suggestion of Lemaire (*Ostraca*, pp. 325f.) that the man discussed was one of the Levites (*Kōhanim*)² brought by Josiah to Jerusalem in order to eat "unleavened bread among their brethren" (2 Kgs 23:9). According to this proposal, there is no relation between Eliashib's instructions and the information given about the man sitting in the house of Yahweh. This ostrakon was written more than ten years after Josiah's death, and thus can have no relation to his reform.

Inscription 19

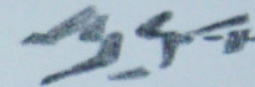
This inscription, written in ink on the side of a whole pithos, was found in the same room where Eliashib's archive was discovered. It was a large pithos with a capacity of 140 liters, and pieces of three additional pithoi were found near it. The inscription consists of three letters:

י נ מ

The script is clumsy, and most of the lines of the letters are unconnected. This can be explained by the fact that the letters were written on a large vessel which could not be laid flat in order to write normally. The reading of the first two letters — *yod* and *nun* — is certain. The lines of the *mem* are not connected properly, and the last line slants in the wrong direction, to the left. Thus, another reading should be considered: *yod, nun*, and some sign — that is, some measure of wine (*יין* = *י*). However, this reading seems unlikely. In contrast to the Samaria ostraca, on which the word for wine was written without the second *yod*, at Arad the word was always written with two *yods*; and this inscription is from the time of the Eliashib letters. Furthermore, the last sign is not similar to any known numeral. It would thus seem that this is a *mem* whose lines are not properly connected because of the unusual direction of the writing.

Sarfatti and Elizur suggested that *ינמ* could be the name of a measure of volume, basing their suggestion on a preliminary reading of this word on an ostrakon from Mesad Hashavyahu.¹ However, Sarfatti himself notes that in that ostrakon one should read *ינמ*, and we know of no measure by that name. It seems to me that this is more likely a place name. There is a place near Hebron by the name of *ינום* (Janum) or *ינים* (Janim)² (Josh 15:53). Possibly this place was meant, or possibly there was another place by that name in the Negeb, whose name has not been preserved in the sources.³

Since only the name *ינמ* was written on the pithos, we have no further information. Perhaps a type of wine which came from the area of *ינמ* was meant, as Avigad has suggested in other cases.⁴ Or perhaps the place name pointed to the origin or the destination of the product (wine?) stored in the jar at Arad. It should be noted that pithoi of a similar type were found in one of the gate-rooms of Beer-Sheba, one of which bore a royal seal impression,⁵ and in the fortress discovered by Z. Meshel at Kuntillet 'Ajrūd on the road to Eilat.⁶



1. G. B. Sarfatti, *Leshonenu*, 34 (1970), p. 154 (Heb.).
2. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* III, col. 705 (Heb.).
3. From Joshua 15 and from Shishak's list, there are several settlements in the Negeb whose names are similar to those known elsewhere, such as Ziph, Aroer, Kadesh, Hazor, Baaloth, Adoraim, Abel, and Beth-Anath.
4. N. Avigad, Two Hebrew Inscriptions on Wine-Jars, *IEJ* 22 (1972), pp. 1–9.
5. *Beer-Sheba* I, pp. 76f.
6. *Hadashot Arkhologiyot* 40 (1971), p. 40 (Heb.); Z. Meshel, Kuntillet 'Ajrūd, *Expedition* 20 (1978), pp. 50–54; *idem* and C. Meyers, The Name of God in the Wilderness of Zin, *BA* 39 (1976), pp. 6–10.

Inscription 20*

The inscription is written in black ink on the side of a whole pithos. The jar was 32 cm. high and contained about 8 liters.¹ It was found, along with other vessels, on the floor of one of the rooms above the southern wall, west of the house of Eliashib. There are remains of a white slip on the pithos, rubbed out where the inscription was written. Underneath the script there are remains of an earlier inscription, and it seems that several inscriptions were written and erased, one on top of the other on the same place, apparently dates. Above the shoulder of the jug, near the handle, there is the sign of a cross (ancient *tau*), also written in black ink.

The inscription contains two lines of script:

בשלשת (ב-)
ירח צח

1. בשלשת
2. ירח צח

In the third year, (in the) month of Šah.

Line 1. בשלשת — the reading of the five letters is certain. Faded remains of earlier writing, especially under the second *shin* and to the left of the *tau*, belong apparently to an earlier inscription. Doubtless "the third year" was meant, similar to בשת השעשע "in the ninth year" etc. of the Samaria ostraca,² or בתשעית in ostrakon No. 20 from Lachish, interpreted by all as בשנה התשעית "in the ninth [year]."³

Line 2. The last two letters are clear, and before them is the word divider. Thus the word צח "Šah" is certain.⁴

The first word is quite faded. The first letter can be *gimel* or *yod*. In the second letter the lines are not connected (*vid.* this phenomenon in the previous inscription), and if we move the left line a little to the right, we get a *resh* or *dalet*. In the last letter, enough lines have been preserved to make the reading of the *het* certain. Thus it appears that the missing word is ירח, since no other possible combination gives a meaningful word.

Therefore, it seems that on this jar only a date was written: the year in the first line, and the month in the second, the month Šah. At the end of the first line, after the word divider, there is room for completing *ב* (*bet*).

It would appear that in this inscription the name of one of the heretofore unknown ancient Hebrew months has been preserved. The only ancient month names appearing in the Bible are זיו Ziv, בול Bul, איתנים Eitanim, and perhaps אביב Abib.⁵ Bul and Eitanim are known also from Canaanite inscriptions, but Ziv and Abib are so far known only from the Bible. Even if we add up all the known months from Canaanite sources as well as the Bible, we only have the names of 11 months,⁶ and it is not at all clear whether all the Canaanite names were in use in Israel, especially those connected with Canaanite religious ritual.

The word צח appears in the Bible several times

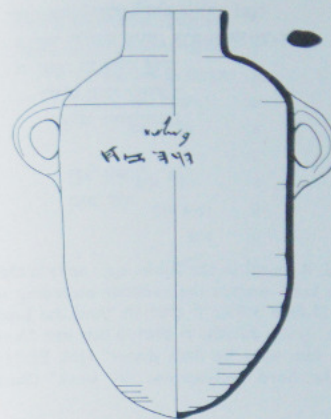
* Preliminary publication, *vid.* Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, Excavations at Tel Arad, Preliminary Report on the First Season, IEJ 14 (1964), pp. 142f.

meaning "bright, clear" (Isa 18:4; Cant 5:10),⁷ and *vid.* also צח ("be pure, clear") and צחית ("parched, dry, arid"). However, in two verses it is possible that the name of the month is meant: כעב טל בחום קציר (according to the Septuagint, ביום instead of בחום) "Like clear heat (or should it be translated: "Like the heat of the month Šah.") in sunshine, Like a cloud of dew in the heat of the harvest" (Isa 18:4); and רוח צח שמים במדבר דרר "A hot wind ("The wind of the month Šah") of the high hills in the wilderness, Toward the daughter of my people, Not to fan, not to cleanse" (Jer 4:11).⁸ Thus the month of Šah is one of the hot summer months, probably the beginning of the summer in which the hot desert winds blow, when grain was winnowed after the harvest. The most appropriate month is the third month, today known as Sivan. It may be that the first three months had Hebrew names taken from nature: Abib named for the still-green ears of grain; Ziv, "brightness, shining" in later sources;⁹ and the month Šah, with similar meanings.

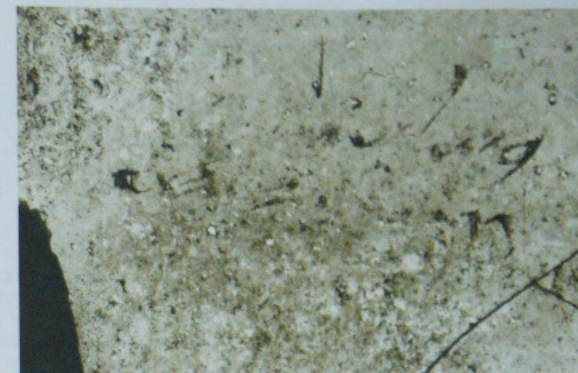
Ginsberg has already pointed out that up to the end of the First Temple Period, the months were called ירחים "moons". ירחים meant mainly the first of the month, although in time it was used to designate the months along with numerical adjectives ("the first month", etc.) and with the later Babylonian names.¹⁰ In the ostraca of Arad, the word חודש appears with the number of the day, such as ב-24 לחודש "on the 24th of the month" ("of the beginning of the month?"; Inscription 17:8 and also *vid.* Inscriptions 7, 8, 9, and 42). However in connection with the names of the months, the word ירח was used.¹¹

The date "the third year" written on the jar is an important factor in a discussion of the date of the destruction of Arad VI. The dates appearing on ostraca, and especially on whole vessels, from this excavation probably belong to the latter period of the city's existence. Similarly, it is usually inferred that the inscription בתשעית "in the ninth year" from Lachish refers to the ninth year of Zedekiah, in which he rebelled against Babylon, and in which Lachish was destroyed.¹² Among the last kings of Judah, only the regnal years of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah can be considered, since the third year of Josiah's reign is too early by any accounting.

From the little known about the reign of Jehoiakim, it is clear that in his fourth year there were great wars and important changes in the area. That was the year — the summer of 605 B.C.E. — when the Babylonians defeated the Egyptians at the battles of Carchemish and Hamath; a year later, they conquered the whole of Eretz-Israel.¹³ From Inscription 24, probably belonging to the same period, it seems that Arad and the Negev fortresses fell before an Edomite attack. Thus it is possible that the Edomites exploited the weakness of Judah at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, and the political and military changes in the fate of the country at this time, and made a campaign of plunder and destruction against the Israelite Negev.¹⁴ But the Babylonians actually arrived only in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, and thus it would appear that Stratum VII was destroyed only during the last years of Josiah's reign (*vid.* Inscriptions 34 and 88).



בשלשת
ירח צח



We also have information about political changes during the first year of Zedekiah's reign. At the beginning of his reign, a revolt against Babylon was organized (Jer 28:1).¹⁵ It appears that the center of the revolt was in Jerusalem, and messengers were sent there by the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon (Jer 27:3). But the revolt did not materialize, and in his fourth year, Zedekiah went to Babylon at the head of a delegation, no doubt in order to confirm his loyalty and submission (Jer 51:59).¹⁶ Although according to extant information Judah and Edom were allies, it may be that the Edomites exploited Judah's surrender and Zedekiah's journey to Babylon, and the allies became enemies, as also happened on other occasions.

The destruction of Arad VI in the third or fourth regnal year of King Zedekiah is thus possible politically; and as we shall see below, this date fits the estimated time interval between Strata VII and VI.

[Along with Lemaire, *IH*, p. 186, we find it hard to believe that the conflict between Edom and Judah could have come to a head just when they had recently tried to make an alliance against Babylon. AFR]

1. Perhaps a third of a bath, and *vid.* above, Inscription 1, n. 17. Gibson (*Textbook*, p. 51) writes mistakenly that its height was only 7.5 cms. His measurement was made according to the scale given on the enlarged inscription, and he failed to notice the smaller scale next to the jug.
2. Döringer, *Inscriptionen*, pp. 238f.; Gibson, *Textbook*, p. 11.
3. *Id.* Lachish III, p. 339; it is strange that the *yod* appears as a *mater lectionis* at Lachish, and does not in the ostrakon under discussion from Arad. It would appear that this is a borderline case in which each scribe used his own discretion.

4. A. Lemaire, Note épigraphique sur la pseudo-attestation du mois šh, VT, 23 (1973), pp. 243-245, *IH*, p. 185, reads the last letters "יר" and completes "ירח צח". This reading seems to me to be epigraphically impossible. The third letter cannot possibly be *aleph*, since the vertical line is to the right of two parallel horizontal strokes. Before the *šade* (Lemaire's *šayin*), there is a clear word divider, and there is no hint of an *ayin*. The *šade*, with its left horizontal stroke leaving no room for a supposed *yod*, is especially clear.

5. *Vid.* Enc. bibl. III, cols. 35-40 (Heb.).

6. J. A. Soggin, Zum wiederentdecken altkananischen Monat šh, ZAW 77 (1965), pp. 83-86.

7. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, p. 800.

8. *Vid.* Soggin, *op. cit.* (n. 6).

9. *Vid.* E. Ben-Yehuda, Dictionary of the Hebrew Language, Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, 1948, pp. 1319-20 (Heb.).

10. H. L. Ginsberg, Lachish Ostraca New and Old, BASOR 80 (1940), p. 13, n. 15.

11. *Vid.* Kgs 6:1 "in the month Ziv, which is the second month" (1 Kgs 6:1) is considered a gloss, missing in the Septuagint. *Vid.* verse 37: "in the month Ziv".

12. W. F. Albright, A Reexamination of the Lachish Letters, BASOR 73 (1939), p. 16; Lachish III, pp. 57f.

13. J. Bright, A History of Israel, Philadelphia, 1972, pp. 325f.; A. F. Rainey, The Fate of Lachish during the Campaigns of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, *apud* Aharoni, Lachish V, Tel Aviv 1975, pp. 47-60.

14. In this connection should be noted the tradition, written down by Josephus according to Berossus (Against Apion 1:19), to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar brought with him from his first campaign prisoners "from the Judeans and the Canaanites and the Arameans and the peoples of Egypt"; and also the strange information given at the beginning of the Book of Daniel about the exile of Jews to Babylon "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah" (Dan 1:1).

15. Although in this verse there are two conflicting dates: הראשית "in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah" and בשנת הרביעית "in the fourth year". The last date, missing in the Septuagint, was apparently influenced by Jeremiah 51:59.

Inscription 21

Your son Yehokai sends greetings to Gedalyahu son of Elyair and greets your house. I have blessed you to the Lord, and now. Behold my master has done...

... the Lord will give my master his due...

Edom, by God (?)

and all that...
and if there is still...

This ostrakon was found in the room neighboring that of Eliashib's archive. Only the opening formula of this letter has been well preserved, and the rest has been largely rubbed out. The two sherds were found on the floor of the room about a half a meter from each other. The traces of writing were immediately apparent, and the sherds were cleaned then and there, without the usual preliminary dip in water. Almost nothing can be made out on the left piece, and this is a telling example of the chance preservation of writing, according to its position or covering.

The opening formula is identical to that of Inscription 16, and *vid.* the discussion there.

Line 1. Your son — Like "your brother" in Inscriptions 15 and 16, a real son is not meant, but rather a person of inferior rank to the addressee (*vid.* Inscription 16:1).

יהוכל — This name is known from the Bible and from several inscriptions, as Jehucal or Jucal. It appears that it should be pointed יהוכל and not יהוכל or יוכל as in the MT.¹

Gedalyahu — a common name in Judah, found in the Bible and in other inscriptions.² It should be noted that one of the ministers of Zedekiah, Gedaliah the son of Pashhur, was sent to Jeremiah together with Jehucal (Jucal) the son of Shelemiah and Pashhur the son of Malchiah (Jer 37:3; 38:1). All of these names are common at Arad, and apparently in Judah altogether, and *vid.* also the seal of "Berekyahu son of ... yahu son of Shemyahu" found in the room next to this inscription in Stratum VII (*vid.* below, Inscription 108).

Elyair — it would appear that this is a fuller form of the name Yair, which is usually glossed as "God will make light".³ Another possibility is the form אליאר Eliur, similar to the names אורי Uri, אוריאל Uriel, and אריה Uriahu.⁴ Compare the name אריה Uriahu in Inscription 26:1; however, in Inscription 31 from Stratum VII (line 2), the name Uriahu appears in plene writing, with the *was*.

"I have blessed you to the Lord" — concerning this formula, *vid.* above, Inscription 16:2-3.⁵

Line 3. הו — meaning something like "because, if", such as הו קניתי "Behold I have bought" (Gen 47:23); "if a man put away" (Jer 3:1), etc.⁶

"My master did" — probably referring to a favor done by Gedalyahu for Yehokai.

Line 4. "The Lord will give him his due" — This formula, meaning that God will repay good for good,

בנך יהוכל שלח לשלם גדליהו
אליאר ולשלם ביתך ברכתך ל[יהו-]
הו ועתה: הו עשה אדני...
... ישלם יהוה לאדני
אדם חיה (וה?)

וכל אשור
ואם עוד

and bad for bad, is found in the Bible, e.g.: "The Lord reward the evildoer according to his wickedness" (2 Sam 3:39); "And the Lord will reward thee" (Prov 25:22); "And who shall repay him what he hath done?" (Job 21:31); "The Lord recompense thy work" (Ruth 2:21); etc.

Line 5. אדם — apparently Edom, as in Inscriptions 3:12, 24:20, and 40:10,15.

חיה — possibly the exclamation and oath, such as יהי "As the Lord liveth, he shall not be put to death" (1 Sam 19:6). It appears in the form חיהה in the Lachish letters (3:9). But there is too little to go on here.

Line 8. ואם עוד — cf. Inscription 2:7.

1. *Enc. bibl.* III, cols. 531-532 (Heb.).

2. *Ibid.*, cols. 440-442 (Heb.).

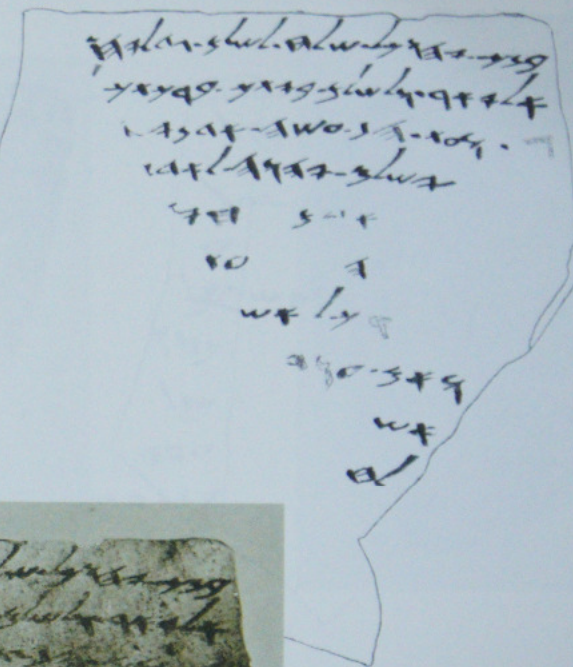
3. *Ibid.*, cols. 415-416 (Heb.); Noth, *Personennamen*, p. 204; Düringer, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 261, 273-4.

4. *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 177-8 (Heb.).

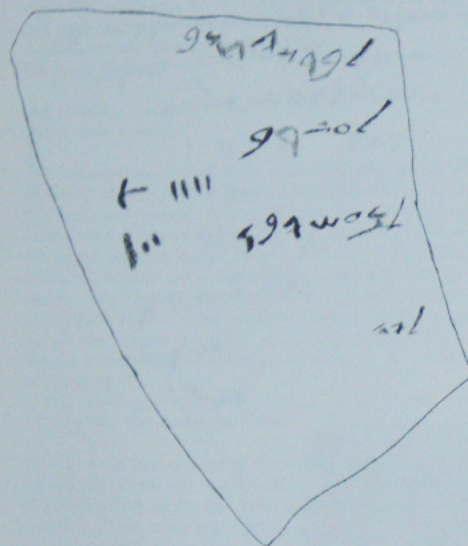
5. I retract my first proposal (*Annals of the Fourth World Congress for Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem 1967, p. 12) to read "... ברכתך".

6. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, p. 238; Jean-Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire*, p. 66.

1. בנך יהוכל שלח לשלם גדליהו
2. אליאר ולשלם ביתך ברכתך ל[יהו-]
3. הו ועתה: הו עשה אדני
4. [ישלם יהוה לאדני]
5. אדם חיה
6. ה עת
7. וכל אש
8. ואם עוד
9. אש
10. לח



Inscription 22



- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. לְבֶרֶכְיָהוּ בֶן | 2. לְעֶזֶר בֶּן |
| 3. מַחֲסֵי | 4. לְמַעֲשֵׂי בֶן יִי |
| 5. לְיֵהוּ | 6. לְיֵהוּ |

To Berekyahu son of...
To Ezer son of...
...4 (homer)
To Ma'asai son of...3
to Yeho...

The ostrakon was found in one of the rooms of the western wall in Stratum VI. The script is very faded and only a few letters can be read with certainty.

Each of the preserved lines begins with the letter *lamed*, and it appears that this is a list of personal names with the prefix *lamed* and with the addition of signs, as in the ostrakon from Lachish.¹ Similarly, this too seems to be a list of the division of some commodity, perhaps flour, as can be seen by the sign in line 3.

Line 1. Berekyahu — a popular name in the Bible (Berechiah),² appearing also on a seal from Arad (Inscription 108).



Line 2. Ezer — also a common name, and *vid.* Inscription 51:2.

Line 3. At the end of the line there is a sign which appears also in Inscriptions 1:7 and 18:6, as a measure of flour, apparently the homer (cor). A similar sign appears also on the Lachish ostrakon (line 6), except that it is written in the opposite direction.³

Line 4. Ma'asai — a shortened form of the common name Ma'asyahu (Maaseiah), appearing also in the Bible (1 Chr 9:12: "Maasai").⁴

Line 5. Only the beginning of a personal name has been preserved.

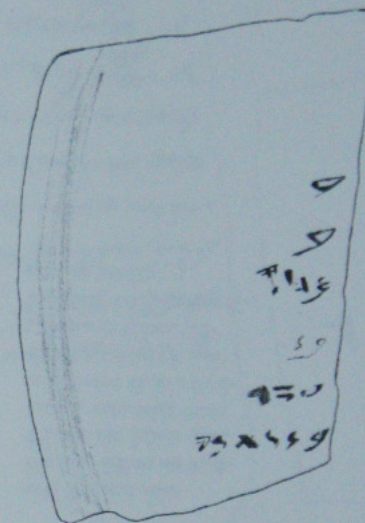
1. Y. Aharoni, Trial Excavation in the "Solar Shrine" at Lachish, *IEJ* 18 (1968), pp. 168f.; also in Hebrew in *Beth Hamikra* 11 (37) 1969, pp. 22-23.

2. *Enc. bibl.* II, col. 362 (Heb.).

3. *Vid.* above, note 1.

4. *Enc. bibl.* V, cols. 203-4 (Heb.).

Inscription 23



- | | |
|----------------|----------|
| 1. בֶּן | 2. בֶּן |
| 3. בֶּן | 4. בֶּן |
| 5. מַחֲסֵי | 6. בֶּן |
| 7. עֶזֶר | 8. בֶּן |
| 9. נְתַנְיָהוּ | 10. בֶּן |

Ben...
Ben...
Mahse[yahu]
Ben...
Ezer
Ben Netanyahu

The ostrakon was found in one of the rooms of the western wall in Stratum VI. This is apparently a list of names, some of which begin with the prefix בֶּן ("son of"), and *cf.* Inscription 49. Most of the script is rubbed out, and only a few names are at all legible.

Line 6. Mahseyahu (Mahseiah) — a name known from the Bible and from the inscriptions at Elephantine.¹

Line 8. Ezer — a common name, *vid.* Inscription 51:2.

Line 9. Netanyahu — This name appears on one of the sherds of the sanctuary, and there also in the form "Ben Netanyahu" (Inscription 56). The similarity to Inscriptions 49 and 56 lead one to the supposition that this ostrakon, too, was originally from the sanctuary.

1. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* IV, col. 808 (Heb.).



Inscription 24*

אל	אל	1.
אלישב	אלישב	2.
מלך	מלך	3.
חיל	חיל	4.
כס	כס	5.
עבר	עבר	6.
ט	ט	7.
וע	וע	8.
וכ	וכ	9.
		10-11. (מחוק)

הצד האחורי

12. מערך 50 ומקין[...].
13. הושלחתם אתם רמת נגב ב-.
14. ד מלכיהו בן קרבאור והב-.
15. קידם על-יד אלישב בן ירמיהו.
16. הו ברמת נגב, פן יקרה את ה-.
17. עיר דבר, ודבר המלך אתכם.
18. בנבשכם, הנה שלחתי להעיר.
19. בככם היום: האנשים את אלישב.
20. ע.פ.נ. תבא ארם שמה.

To
Eliashib...
...king
...troop
...mon[ey]
...passed

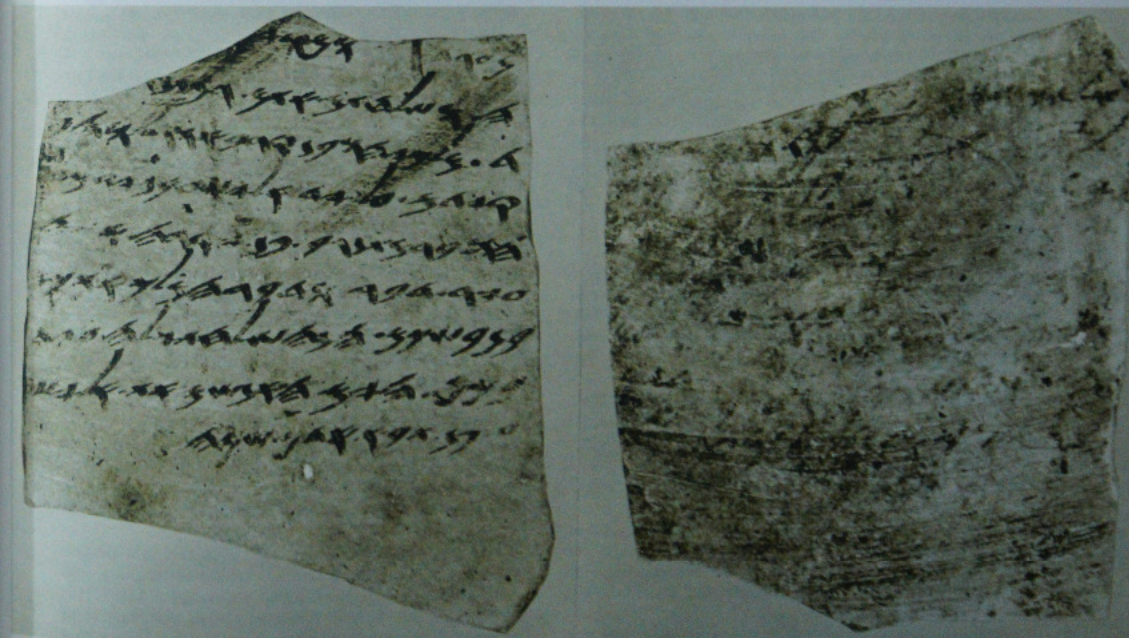
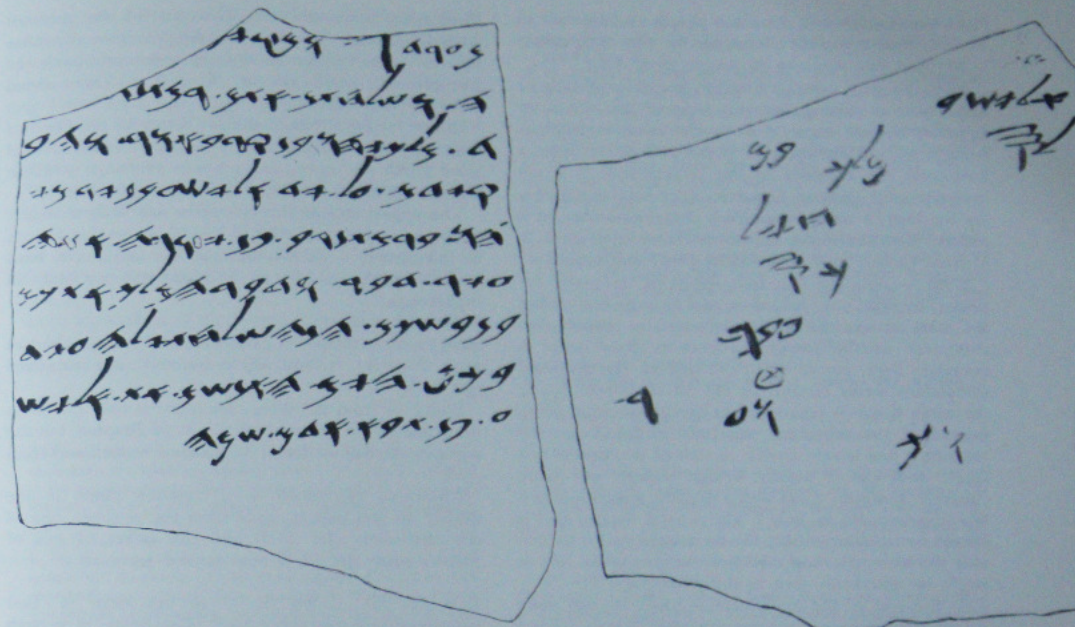
The Reverse

From Arad 50 and from Kin[ah]...

And you shall send them to Ramat-Negeb by the hand of Malkiyahu the son of Qerab'ur and he shall hand them over to Elisha' the son of Yirmiyahu in Ramat-Negeb, lest anything should happen to the city. And the word of the king is incumbent upon you for your very life! Behold, I have sent to warn you today: [Get] the men to Elisha': Lest Edom should come there.

This ostrakon was found outside the fortress on the western slope, and it should be from Stratum VI according to the script. On the obverse, the beginning of the letter, there were at least 10 lines of writing, but aside from single letters it is illegible.¹ Luckily, it is possible to read the first word with certainty: "Eliashib".² Only the *bet* is doubtful since its lower part is missing. Thus it is possible to read 'ayin instead, giving the name

* Preliminary publication Y. Aharoni, Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad, BASOR 197 (1970), pp. 16-28; the same in Hebrew in Eretz-Israel IX (1969), pp. 10-15.



Elisha'; however, since the area beneath the letter is completely effaced, it is possible also to read it as *bet*. The script in this ostrakon is identical to that of several of the Eliashib collection, thus making it likely that this, too, is part of Eliashib's archive. The opening אל "to" was apparently written on the corner of the sherd above the word "Eliashib". In this place there are remains which could fit these two letters, and since this was a long letter, it would appear that the scribe utilized every spare space on the sherd. Unfortunately, the rest of the script on this side is undecipherable³ aside from a few letters and words. It appears that in line 3 the word מלך "king" is written; in line 4 — חיל "troop"; and in line 6 perhaps the word עבר "passed". The letters כס in line 5 may be completed כסף "money", although all of this is doubtful.

The reverse of the ostrakon, in contrast, is completely legible aside from the first two lines which are broken slightly above and to the left. If we restore the broken parts above and below (the top part of the obverse), we have before us a square tablet, similar to some of the Eliashib sherds (especially Inscriptions 1, 2, 5, 7, 16, and 18). This fact, as well as the similarity of the script, supports the supposition that this letter and some of the Eliashib letters were sent from the same place.

Line 12. From Arad — As in ostrakon No. 4 from Lachish, this is the second time that the name of the place where the ostrakon was found is mentioned in a Hebrew ostrakon (and *vid.* also Inscription 99 and perhaps Inscription 48). Here, too, it is not at the beginning of the letter, but in the middle of a sentence.

From the context, it is clear that people = soldiers are to be sent; thus a possible completion is: **לְקַחְתֶּם אֲנָשִׁים מֵעִיר** ... 50 "And you will take 50 people from Arad..."⁴

After this word comes a number, but unfortunately its upper part is missing. We may suppose that this is an Egyptian hieratic numeral as in the other inscriptions from Arad and elsewhere in Judah and Israel. Since a horizontal line connects to the vertical line, 5 is the lowest possible number. However, since both of the lines are too long, it seems more likely that the number 50 is meant.⁵ Good examples appear in Ostrakon 19 (lines 3, 4) from Lachish⁶ and in shekel weights from Jerusalem.⁷

וּמִקִּינָה — only the first four letters of this word are clear. The fifth letter is broken, and its remains fit either *kaf*, *mem*, or *nun*. *Bet* or *pe* might also be possible, but these are usually straighter. Since a place name is necessary here, according to the context, the proposed completion seems certain. In the list of Judean towns, the name Kinah is mentioned as being near Arad (thus, instead of the mistaken **עֵדֶר**; Josh 15:22). True, the remaining line is very similar to that of the *mem* in this letter, and *nun* is usually written shorter and more curvilinearly; however, a *nun* with a similarly long downward line appears also in line 7 (the second letter). And it should be emphasized that the downward stroke reaches only the white dot, and does not continue to the left, as might be mistakenly seen in the photograph.

At the end of the line, there is room for 6–8 more letters. It is possible to assume that after "Kinah" came a number, as after Arad, and afterwards there is room for one or two more words. The letter *he* opening the next line shows that the missing words were not another place name and number. A possibility is to complete the line **וּמִקִּינָה מֵאָה** "And from Kinah, one hundred", assuming that the upper edge of the sherd was narrower than the rest, and that the number was written out. In Inscription 7, there is an example of both a numeral and a word used for writing one date. It should be noted that fifty and a hundred are usual military units (2 Sam 15:1; 2 Kgs 1:9; 1 Sam 29:2; 2 Kgs 11:4).⁸

Line 13. Ramat-Negeb — The completion is certain, in the light of line 5. The city is mentioned in the Bible in the form **רַמַּת נֶגֶב** (1 Sam 30:27) and **רַמַּת נֶגֶב** (Josh 19:8). This ostrakon does not help in deciding which of the two forms is correct, thus we chose arbitrarily the form **רַמַּת נֶגֶב**.

בְּיָד — this completion, too, seems certain. **לְשַׁלּוֹחַ בְּיָד** "to send by the hand of" is a normal biblical phrase. For the sending of soldiers by the hand of someone, *vid.* **יִשְׁלַח דָּוִד** "And David sent forth the people, a third part under the hand of Joab, etc." (2 Sam 18:2).

Line 14. Malkiyahu — a common biblical name (Malchiah).⁹ Known in the period under discussion are Pashhur the son of Malchiah, a minister of Zedekiah (Jer 21:1; 38:1), and Malchiah the king's son, also from the time of Zedekiah (Jer 38:6).

קֶרֶב'וּר — All of the letters are clear, including the final *resh*. The double line at the end of the word is a combination of the remains of the *resh* and the word

divider (the dot under this sign is not ink, but a brown stain). The name Qerab'ur is unknown from any other sources. It should be connected, apparently, with the (theophorous) element **אוּר** 'Ur, as in the names **אוּרִי, אוּרִי, אוּרִיאֵל, אוּרִיהָ**.¹⁰

וְהַבְּקִידִים — even though the last letter in the line is a little blurred, it is clearly a *bet*. There is no doubt that the word **וְהַבְּקִידִים** was meant, and a similar exchange occurs in the word **נִבְשָׁכִים** in line 18, and *vid.* the discussion there.

The appearance of the *yod* in the *hiph'il* form of this word and in the word **לְהַעֲדִיר** in line 17, shows that already in this period in Judah, the *yod* was used as a *mater lectionis* in the middle of a word, and not only in diphthongs.¹¹

Line 15. **וְהַבְּקִידִים עָלָיו** — gave them into his care, and *cf.* **וְכִי הִקְדִּיר אוֹתוֹ אֲנָשִׁים** "and had committed unto him men" (Jer 40:7).

עִלְיָה — from the Bible, this name is only known as the name of the prophet Elisha son of Shaphat, but the name is also known from the Samaria ostraca and seals.¹²

Yirmiyahu (Jeremiah) — a common name in the Bible.¹³ In this period, aside from the prophet, one of the charioteers (Jer 35:3) and the father of one of Josiah's wives (Jer 52:1) were named Jeremiah.

Line 16. **לֵאמֹר יִקְרָאוּ אֶתְּךָ** — *cf.* **לֵאמֹר יִקְרָאוּ אֶתְּךָ** "Lest peradventure harm befall him" (Gen 52:4); **וְהָיָה דְּבַר אֵם לִבְכֹּר בְּלִיעַל** "Beware that there be not a base thought in thy heart" (Deut 15:9).

Line 17. "The word of the king" — the king's command, *cf.* Esther 1:12; Samuel 21:3.

Line 18. **בְּנִבְשָׁכִים** = **בְּנִבְשָׁכִים**. The form "נִבְשָׁ" is known also from Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from northern Syria, such as at Zinčirli and Sfire.¹⁴ However, the fact that in this epistle the letters *pe* and *bet* were exchanged twice (*vid.* line 3: **וְהַבְּקִידִים**) shows that we have before us a more general phonetic phenomenon.¹⁵ The only possible conclusion is that at this time in Judah, the weak *bet* and *pe* were pronounced so similarly that they could be interchanged by the scribes. This is proof of spirantized consonants during this period,¹⁶ and one more indication of the development of a special Judean dialect.¹⁷

Lines 18–19. **לְהַעֲדִיר בְּכֶם הַיּוֹם** — meaning "to adjure and to warn you",¹⁸ a biblical expression, *e.g.*: **אֲנִי מַעֲדִיר בְּכֶם הַיּוֹם** "I testify against you this day" (Deut 32:46); **הַעֲדִיתִי בְּכֶם הַיּוֹם** "I forewarn you this day" (Deut 8:19; and *vid.* Gen 43:3; Exod 19:21; 1 Sam 8:9; 1 Kgs 2:42; Jer 11:7; Neh 13:21 etc.).

אִישׁ אֶתְּךָ — Being "אֶתְּ" someone is a biblical expression for friends or soldiers under orders of a man or officer, *e.g.*: 1 Samuel 22:6; 2 Samuel 1:11; 17:12; Jeremiah 26:42; 41:2,7. However, from the context of the letter, it is clear that this is no statement of fact, that the people have not yet come to Elisha. Nor is it a question, since only in this letter was the command given

to bring the men to Elisha.¹⁹ Thus clearly this is an abbreviated and aggressive form of speech, dictated apparently by the commander to the scribe: "The men (must as soon as possible) be with Elisha!" [In fact, we may have here a rare usage of 'et meaning "to", *cf.* it(ū) in Taanach letter No. 1:18 and the standard usage of Ugaritic 'm; Albright, BASOR 94 (1944), p. 17 n. 27. AFR]²⁰

The men are sent as reinforcements for Ramat-Negeb, thus it is clear that soldiers are meant.

Line 20. Edom — a collective name, instead of "the Edomites", *cf.* **וַיָּנֶס אֶדֹם** "And the Aramaeans fled" (2 Sam 10:18) etc.

As to an analysis of the historical events mentioned in this letter, and the question of identifying the place names in it, *vid.* the summary below.

1. This ostrakon was found on the second day of the fifth season of excavations in a baulk left standing between two sections excavated in the previous season. One of the students, Ann Black of South Carolina, noticed it while digging, thus it was saved from dipping. Again we have before us a telling example of the chance preservation of the script.
2. In the beginning I was convinced that the first two letters "אל" spelled "to", the normal opening in the majority of the letters, and afterwards came a name which could not be Eliashib. E. Puech, who worked on this section, suggested to me that the first word was the name without the opening "to", a suggestion with which I tend to agree. However, we have left the word in the text as a possibility.
3. I could not accept the other suggestions of Mr. Puech for this side of the ostrakon, and he will publish them in a separate article.
4. Lemaire's suggestion (Ostraca, p. 354 *IH*, p. 189) to complete: **וּמִקִּינָה 5 וּמִקִּינָה 5 לְמַלְחָה** "Hear from Arad 5 and from Kinah 5 for war" is unacceptable. Under discussion here is not the enlistment of men, but rather sending soldiers or mercenaries from one place to another.
5. *Cf.* Möller, *Hier. Pal.* II, p. 56, No. 627.

6. Lachish III, Pl. 48 A/2; Y. Aharoni, *Jubelschrift zu Shmuel Yeevin*, Jerusalem 1970, figs. 2, 3, 4 (Heb.); Y. Aharoni, BASOR 184 (1966), figs. 3a, 4f.

7. Y. Aharoni, BASOR 201 (1971), pp. 35f. Lemaire (Ostraca, pp. 353f. *IH*, p. 189), who reads "5", does not take into account that the upper part of the numeral is broken. The proposal also seems unlikely from a contextual point of view; five soldiers are not reinforcement enough to account for the gravity of the letter.

8. *Vid.* R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, London 1961, p. 121f., 226.

9. *Enc. bibl.* IV, cols. 1128–29 (Heb.).

10. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 170–79; Lemaire, Ostraca, p. 255. And *vid.* also the name Uriyahu in Inscription 31:2.

11. In contrast to the assumption of Cross and Freedman, *Orthography*, pp. 51, 54ff. They too, however, point out the appearance of **צִיר** "city", and perhaps **מִן** "man", in the Lachish letters, and especially the appearance of **צִיר** "Ziph" as well as **מִן** on the royal seals with four wings. This is the early type of royal seals which, in my opinion, come from the end of the eighth century B.C.E., *vid.* *Q. LeDavid*, Jerusalem 1964, pp. 421f. (Heb.).

12. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 355–58 (Heb.).

13. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* III, (Heb. cols. 867f.); Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 18 (1968), p. 167.

14. *Vid.* Donner-Röllig, *Inchriften*, Nos. 24:13; 214:17, 21–22; 215:18; 217:7; 222A:37; 222B:39–40, 42; 223B:5; 224:5–7; Jean-Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 183f.

15. On the phonetic phenomenon of the *pe-bet* exchange (in connection with the 'Apiru-Hebrew problem) *vid.* M. Weippert, *Die Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme etc.*, Göttingen 1967, pp. 77ff.

16. *Vid.* Lemaire, Ostraca, p. 356. E. Y. Kutscher (*JSS* 10 [1965], pp. 21–51) fixes the time of their entry into the language in the period after the borrowing of the alphabet by the Greeks, circa the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.E.

17. M. Heltzer, Some Northwest Semitic Epigraphic Gleanings from the IX–VI Centuries B.C., *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 31 (1971), p. 195.

18. On this meaning of the verb **לְהַעֲדִיר**, *vid.* Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 568.

19. It is also impossible to accept Lemaire's proposal (Ostraca, pp. 358f. *IH*, p. 190) that Elisha's men were sent to warn Eliashib. We heard clearly that the men are to be sent to Elisha in order to be with him, and it appears that Malkiyahu son of Qerab'ur is the bearer of the letter. There is also no linguistic evidence to support the phrase **אִישׁ אֶתְּךָ מִלְּנִי** meaning "someone's men". All of the biblical examples speak of someone and the men with him (לְנָוִי).

20. Now treated extensively by Sh. Izre'el, *Shanaton* 3 (1978), 204–212.

Inscription 25* [מ] חקאת 10 שעורה
[מ] ענים תחתנם חקאת 30 שעורה
מעלינם חקאת 60 (שעורה)
ממעו חקאת 10 (שעורה)

[From...] 10 hekats of barley
[From] Lower 'Anim 30 hekats of barley
From Upper ('Anim) 60 hekats
From Ma'on 10 hekats

This ostrakon was found on the western slope near the previous ostrakon. According to the script, it must belong to Stratum VI.

Near it, an additional sherd from the same bowl base was found, about the same size, fitting the left edge of the ostrakon. It would appear that this was a second ostrakon of the same type, but no traces of script remain on it. On the ostrakon itself, there are signs of earlier writing which were erased (palimpsest). From these facts, it emerges that this ostrakon was written at Arad on a piece of local pottery.

Basically, I tend to accept Rainey's reading. Since the letter is obviously decipherable, I see no grounds for Yeivin's suggestion, which I tended to accept originally, that the first column contains Egyptian names and forms written in Hebrew characters. True, the numerals and apparently also the symbols are hieratic, but, as noted often, the use of hieratic numerals is common in Hebrew inscriptions.

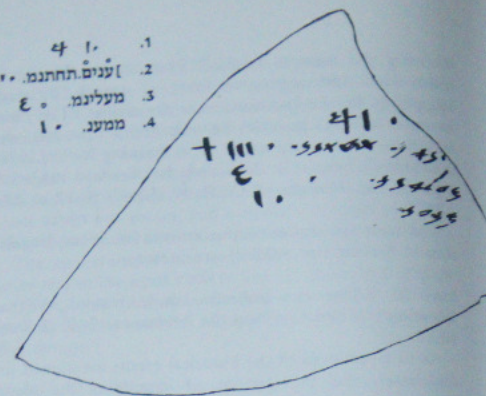
Line 1. As Yeivin noted, the hieratic symbol for the *hekat* appears in this line.¹ In this ostrakon, as well as in Inscription 34, it comes before a hieratic numeral. A single stroke denotes the number 1 in this line,² which does not, however, mean one *hekat*, a small measure of less than five liters. These numerals, when they are written after the *hekat* symbol, denote tens in hieratic writing.³ Thus, 10 *hekats* is meant.

The symbol after the numeral is similar to that which appears at least four times in Inscription 34. Yeivin found that it is similar to the hieratic sign for *šm*, that is, barley from southern Egypt.⁴ This proposal seems likely, even though the similarity is not complete.⁵ As Yeivin noted, we have no examples of this sign from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty,⁶ and there is a considerable difference in the forms of the sign between earlier and later inscriptions. This meaning also fits the *hekat* symbol, used as a grain measure. Of course the barley in question was not brought from southern Egypt, but would have been some (superior?) type of barley.⁷

Line 2. Rainey suggested completing [מכ] "from the sons of", and Lemaire reads [מכ] "from the people of

* Preliminary publication, *vid.* Sh. Yeivin, An Ostrakon from Tel Arad Exhibiting a Combination of Two Scripts, *JEA* 55 (1969), pp. 98-102; also A. F. Rainey, A Hebrew "Receipt" from Arad, *BASOR* 202 (1971), pp. 23-9.

4 1. 1
2. [ע]נים תחתנם חקאת 30
3. מעלינם חקאת 60
4. ממעו חקאת 10



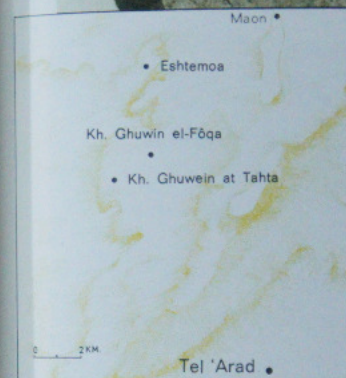
Kinah".⁸ The letters are clear, and afterwards there is a descending line which fits either a *mem* or *nun*.⁹ Before the first *nun*, traces of a vertical line, fitting neither a *bet* nor a *yod*, are preserved. If we suppose with Rainey that this line, too, began with a *mem*, like the next two lines, and that the script was written in a straight line, then there is room for only one letter between the *mem* and *nun*. Accordingly, it is possible to suggest the completion: "[מכ]נים", and the remains of the first letter suit an 'ayin quite well.

'Anim is the name of a place in the southern mountain area of Judah (Josh 15:50), which is usually identified with Kh. Ghuwein et-Tahta, 10 km. northwest of Arad.¹⁰ At a distance of less than two km. northeast of it is Kh. Ghuwein el-Fôqa, and at both sites pottery from Iron Age II was discovered.¹¹ It appears, therefore, that already during the Monarchy these two villages existed side-by-side, the first Lower 'Anim and the second Upper 'Anim, like Upper Beth-horon and Lower Beth-horon, and the Upper Springs and the Lower Springs (גלות עליית וגלות תחתית Josh 15:19).¹² Eusebius, too, mentions two neighboring villages here in his time, called *Avana*, one Jewish and the other Christian.¹³ Accordingly, the reading "Lower 'Anim" seems the right one.

Line 3. מעלינם — as Rainey notes, the concepts "upper" and "lower" complement and confirm each other, and it seems that מעלינם is a shortened form of עליונים "Upper 'Anim".

The numeral in this line was interpreted by Yeivin as 7, without explanation,¹⁴ and Rainey agreed with him. There is no resemblance between this numeral and the hieratic 7.¹⁵ It would appear that this is 6, which appears exactly in this form in inscriptions from the period of Thutmes III.¹⁶ The other forms in Möller's book are less clear, but the forms from the Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasties are close to the form in this ostrakon; there are no examples from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Thus 60 *hekats* was meant. The symbol for barley appeared only in the first two rows, and was not repeated in the last two rows.

Line 4. ממעו — The reading מענים supports Rainey's suggestion to read ממעו "from Ma'on".¹⁷ The form of the



last letter is indeed closer to *mem*, however the line to the left of the vertical stroke, which gives it this form, is apparently a trace of the word divider. Ma'on, identified with Tell Ma'in,¹⁸ neighbors 'Anim (the distance between them is less than 10 km. as the crow flies) and is 14 km. distant from Arad. True, Ma'on was in the southeastern mountain district of Judah, together with Ziph (Josh 15:55); however, we suggest, on the strength of royal seal impressions from Judah, that Arad, 'Anim, and Ma'on were in this period in one administrative district (Ziph).¹⁹

Apparently these consignments of barley from various places in the southern mountain area were levies imposed by the administrative center in the Negeb.²⁰ This hypothesis fits the interpretation of the *hekat* measures as tens and not units.

1. Yeivin, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100; Sh. Yeivin, A Hieratic Ostrakon from Tel Arad, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 157-1; Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 695.
2. The dot seen to the right of this line, interpreted by Yeivin as a remnant of a 10, is only a depression in the sherd.
3. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, London, 1957, p. 198. Lemaire (*Ostraca* p. 349) noticed this, but confused tens with hundreds, cf. *IH*, 196.
4. Sh. Yeivin, *IEJ* 16 (1966), p. 154; and *vid.* Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 202.
5. A. F. Rainey, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
6. Sh. Yeivin, *IEJ* 16 (1966), p. 154, note 5.
7. *Vid.* W. Helck and E. Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 118.
8. Lemaire, *Ostraca*, p. 348.
9. Yeivin, An Ostrakon from Tel Arad etc., p. 100, read *nun* here.
10. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* VI, cols. 308-309 (Heb.).
11. M. Kochavi, *Judah, Samaria, and Golan*, Jerusalem 1972, pp. 81-82, No. 248, 250 (Heb.).
12. It is now clear that this version is preferable to גלות עליית וגלות תחתית in the Book of Judges 1:15, and cf. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, Tübingen 1953, p. 86. The adjective is declined according to the noun preceding it.
13. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, ed. E. Klostermann, Leipzig 1904, 26:9, 13. However, the distance given by him does not fit. He writes 9 miles instead of 15 miles, the number appropriate to the distance of Jutta.
14. Yeivin, An Ostrakon from Tel Arad etc. p. 101.
15. *Vid.* Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 620. The hieratic 7 appears in the papyrus of Wadi Murabba'at, the symbol interpreted by Milik as 4. *Vid.* *Murabba'at*, pp. 96ff.
16. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, p. 55, No. 619.
17. Rainey, *op. cit.*, pp. 24f.
18. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* V, cols. 187-188 (Heb.).
19. Y. Aharoni, *Land*, pp. 340ff., map 32; Y. Aharoni *Carta of the Bible*, Jerusalem, 1974, map 152 (Heb.); Y. Aharoni and Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, New York and London, 1978, map 152.
20. Rainey, *op. cit.*, p. 28; and cf. a similar ostrakon from Beer-Sheva, *vid.* *Beer-Sheva* I, pp. 71-73.

Inscription 26

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| אריהו | 1. אריהו |
| מִן אֲדָנִי שֵׁר | 2. מִן אֲדָנִי שֵׁר |
| ...קוס ויהו[...] | 3. קוסויה |
| אדני | 4. אדני |
| ... | 5. ... |
| ... | 6. ... |



...Uriyahu ... from my master, minister...
...kaus and Yeho...
...my master...

This ostrakon was found in a pit in the area of the sanctuary, and its script dates it to Stratum VI. From the little bit of writing preserved, it seems that this is a letter, but only a few words are legible.

Line 1. Uriyahu (Uriah) — written consonantly, without *waw* as *mater lectionis* in the first syllable, and *vid.* above Inscription 21:2. The name Uriyahu is also known from a Hebrew seal from Ein Gedi¹ and from a tomb inscription at Kh. el-Qôm.² Lemaire, *IH*, p. 198, would read [']zryhu, 'Azaryahu.

Line 2. אדני שר — This formula reminds one of the opening to the ostrakon from Mešad Hashavyahu, אדני השר "my master, the officer".³ Here the definite article *he* is missing, and it is possible to assume that the function of the officer would follow, as in שר האלף "captain of a thousand" (1 Sam 17:18, etc.). However, it is also possible that the letters *shin* and *resh* are the beginning of a name or another word, the end of which was on the part of the sherd which was broken off.

Line 3. The most likely completion for the first letter is *qoph*, giving the combination קוס "kaus", the theophorous base of Edomite names. From the following ויה, it appears that קוס was the end of one name, and after it began another name with the theophorous base יהו "Yeho-".

In the rest of the letter, it is only possible to read "my master" in line 4.

1. B. Mazar, T. Dothan, and E. Dunayevsky, *Yediot* 27 (1963), p. 57 (Heb.).

2. W. G. Dever, *HUCA* 40-41 (1969-70), p. 159; in Hebrew in *Qadmoniot* IV (1972), p. 91.

3. Vid. Y. Naveh, *Yediot* 25 (1961), p. 120.



Inscription 27

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| יהו... | 1. יהו |
| עבדי[הו] בן שמעיהו | 2. עבדי[הו] בן שמעיהו |
| ... | 3. ... |
| ידיהו בן שב[ניהו] | 4. ידיהו בן שב |
| חלדי | 5. חלדי |
| בן אביהו | 6. בן אביהו |
| יהו... | 7. יהו... |

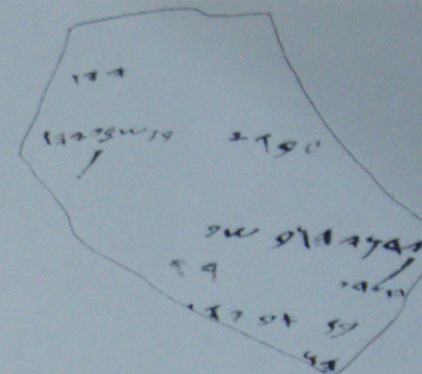
...yahu
Obadya(hu) son of Shemayahu
...
Yedanyahu son of Sheba(nyahu)
Heldai...
...son of Abiyahu
...(y)ahu

This ostrakon was found outside of the fortress in the western section, near Inscriptions 24 and 25, and it, too, dates from Stratum VI, according to its script.

From the preserved parts, it is clear that this was a list of names.

Line 2. Obadyahu (Obadiah) — a common biblical name, and *vid.* Inscription 10:4.

Shemayahu (Shemiah) — also a popular name, known from this period as the name of the father of the prophet Uriah (Jer 26:20), and of Delaiah, one of Jehoiakim's ministers (Jer 36:12).



Line 4. Yedanyahu (or Yadonyahu?) — this name is known from the Elephantine inscriptions, written ידניה and ידניא.¹ The completion שבניהו is not certain, but the name was very popular in Judah.²

Line 5. Heldai — This name appears also in Inscription 31, line 10, where its reading is certain. The name appears in the Bible.³

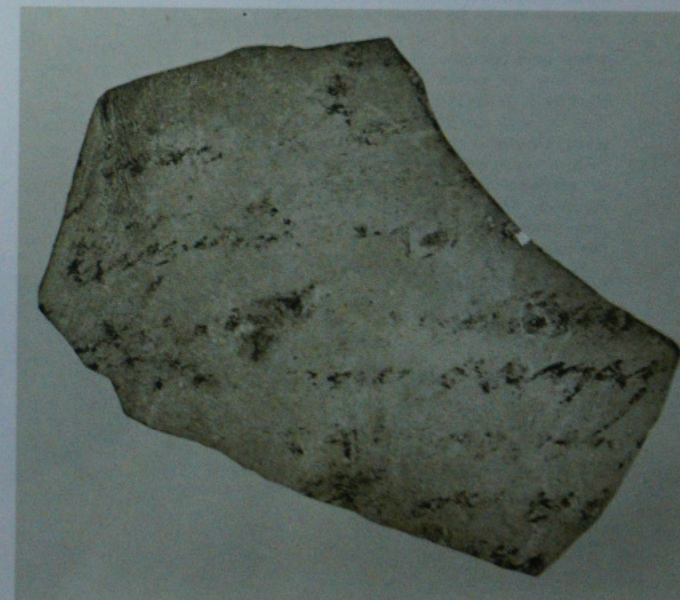
Line 6. Abiyahu (Abijah) — a name popular in the Bible and in inscriptions.⁴ Usually it was a masculine name, but it is also known as the name of a woman, the mother of Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:1; in 2 Kgs 18:2 appears the abbreviated form אבי Abi).

1. Vid. Noth, *Personennamen*, pp. 57, 129, 198.

2. Vid. D. Düringer, *PEQ* 73 (1941), pp. 89f.; Moscati, *L'epigrafa*, pp. 72ff.

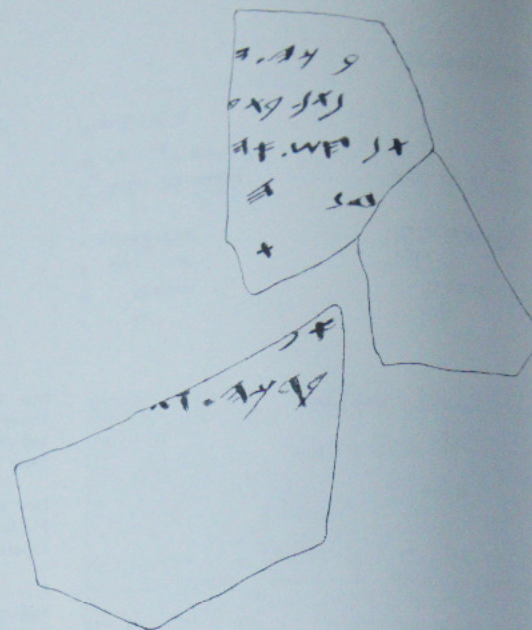
3. Vid. *Enc. bibl.* III, col. 140 (Heb.).

4. Vid. *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 22-24 (Heb.).



Inscription 28

- | | |
|-----------|-------------------|
| בְּרִכָּה | 1. ... בְּ כֶהָ |
| נָתַן | 2. נָתַן בְּת |
| | 3. תְּנַחֲשׁ אֶהָ |
| | 4. דֵּן הָ |
| | 5. תְּ |
| אִם | 6. אִם |
| בְּרִכָּה | 7. בְּרִכָּה וְתְ |



...blessing ...
...gave ...
...blessing

This ostrakon was found during the cleaning up of the northern wall area. According to its script, it should be dated from Stratum VI. Three pieces of a jar were found, two of which were contiguous. It would appear that all three are pieces of one ostrakon. Since there is a straight edge, and the first line is close to and parallel to this edge, it would seem that this is the upper edge. Apparently the lower part was also preserved, there being no remnants of writing beneath the last line. However, there is no way of knowing how many rows of writing there were, or how wide the ostrakon was.

The only certain words are: נתן "gave" in line 2, and ברכה "blessing" in line 7. This was undoubtedly a letter.



Inscription 29

- | | |
|-------------------|----|
| 10 כֶּסֶף לְ | 1. |
| וְאֶשֶׁר | 2. |
| עַבְדִּי לִמְ | 3. |
| אֶתְבִּ | 4. |
| לְ נָ ב | 5. |
| כֶּסֶף לִמְ | 6. |
| וְאֶשֶׁר בִּכְבִּ | 7. |

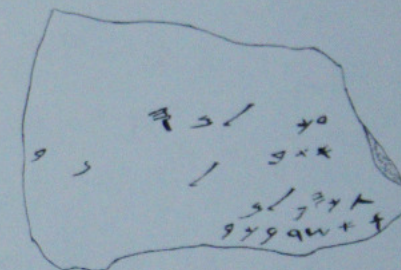
...10 silver to M...
...and which...

The ostrakon was found outside the citadel on the western slope, and appears to be from Stratum VI. The script is small and crowded, and although remains of seven lines are discernible, only a few letters are decipherable.

At the beginning of line 6, the hieratic numeral 10 is clearly apparent.¹ Afterwards the letters *kaph* and *pe* are clear, and between them are traces quite suitable for the letter *samek*. Thus it seems that in this line 10 (shekels) of silver are discussed, to be given to someone whose name began with *mem*.

The form of the letters and the crowded writing are similar to those of Ostrakon 16 of the Eliashib archive, which also dealt with silver; the two ostraca may have been written by the same scribe.

1. Vid. Y. Aharoni, *Jubelschrift Shemuel Yeivin*, Jerusalem, 1970, p. 313-314; *BASOR* 184 (1966), p. 17.



Inscription 30

- | |
|-----------------|
| 1. כֶּבֶד |
| 2. יְהוֹ |
| 3. יְהוֹ (סֵאח) |
| 4. יְהוֹ |
| 5. יְהוֹ |

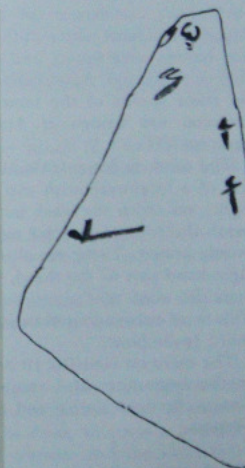
...yah]u
...yah]u (seah)

The ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VI near the southwestern corner of the citadel.

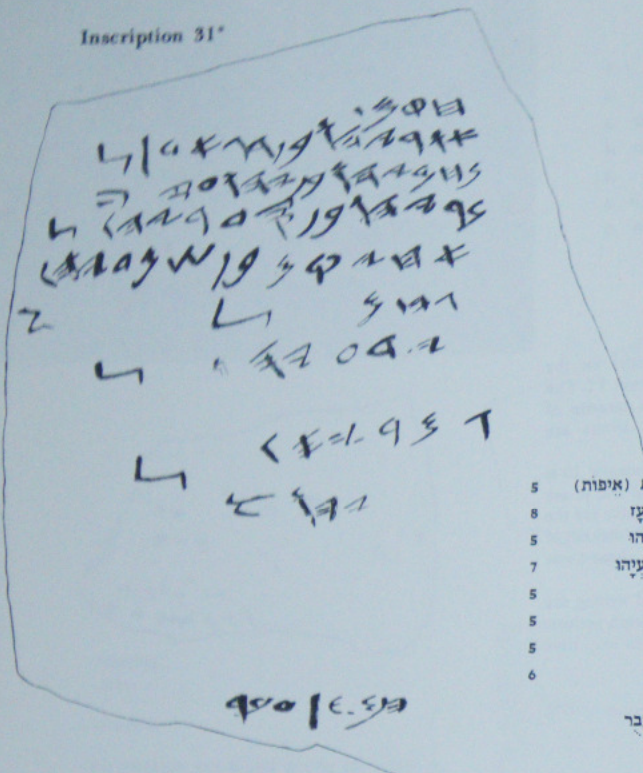
The two *waws* of lines 3 and 4, especially the clear *waw* of line 4, suggest the possibility that these were the ends of names ending in "yahu".

The sign appearing in line 4 is similar to the sign appearing twice in Inscription 33 after the word *סֵאח* "grain" (lines 1,6), interpreted there as the seah measure; and vid. Inscription 41:7.

It would appear that this ostrakon contained a list of names and amounts of grain.



Inscription 31*



חטם	חטם
5 אוריהו בן רגא (איפות)	1. חטם
8 נחמיהו בן יהועז	2. אוריהו בן רגא a
5 נריהו בן סעריהו	3. נחמיהו בן יהועז c
7 אחיקם בן שמעיהו	4. נריהו בן סעריהו b
5 גחם	5. אחיקם בן שמעיהו
5 ידעיהו	6. גחם b d
5 גמריהו	7. ידעיהו b
6 יהו ...	8. גמריהו b
	9. יהו [...] e
46 (איפות) עבר	10. a.ef עבר

Wheat
Uriyahu son of Raga
Nehemyahu son of Yeho'az
Neriyahu son of Se'aryahu
Ahiqam son of Shema'yahu
Gaham
Yeda'yahu
Gemaryahu
...yahu
46 ephahs of grain.

The ostrakon was found in a small room abutting on the southern wall, together with three seals of Eliashib son of Eshiyahu (*vid. below*, Inscriptions 105-107) and a Hebrew ostrakon (Inscription 32) and a hieratic one (Inscription 34). In the same room, two marked shekel weights, a decorated cosmetic vessel from a *Tridacna squamosa*

* Preliminary publication, *vid. Y. Aharoni, Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad, BASOR 197 (1970), pp. 32ff.*; the same in Hebrew in *Eretz-Israel IX (1969), pp. 17ff.*

shell, and a collection of delicate earthenware were found. Additional pieces of the jar on which the ostrakon was written were found, and traces of script are discernible on them, too. Apparently other ostraca were written on these sherds of the same jar; this proves that this ostrakon was written at Arad. The locus belongs to Stratum VII.

The ostrakon is written on the outer side of the jar, on top of a bright-yellowish slip (beginning to peel on the right), on which the black ink stands out nicely. Underneath the rows of text are clear signs of earlier writing, mostly erased. These remains are clearest on the lower right-hand part of the sherd, where it is even possible to read the word לבן "white", and above it the letter nun. This is an outstanding example of the re-use of the same sherd (palimpsest).

The ostrakon contains 10 lines of text, more crowded at the beginning, and more spaced out towards the bottom. Between lines 9 and 10 a large space was left on purpose.

Line 1. חטם — cf. השמן והשעורים, "the wheat and



the barley, the oil and the wine" (2 Chr 2:14), the principle provisions which Eliashib supplied. This word was written as a title.

Line 2. Uriyahu — a common biblical name;¹ Uriah son of Shemaiah, the prophet (Jer 26:20), was a contemporary.

רגא — an unknown name. Perhaps this was a diminutive of רגעי as in רגעייהו — שמא. The name רגע is known from the Samaria ostraca.²

Line 3. Nehemyahu (Nehemiah) — this name appears in the Bible only in the post-exilic period,³ but is known also from a Hebrew seal.⁴ At Arad, this was a popular name, appearing in several ostraca; and the shortened form נחם also occurs (Inscriptions 16, 17).

Yeho'az — this name was known hitherto only from a Hebrew seal.⁵ It is a variant of the names עזיה, עזיהו, עזיה, עזיהו, עזיהו, עזיהו.

Line 4. Neriyahu (Neria) — this name is known from the Bible and from Hebrew seals.⁶ In this period, the Bible mentions Neria son of Mahseiah (Jer 51:59).

Se'aryahu — this is a new name, but the reading seems certain. At first, I read a *bet* for the 'ayin (סכריהו), since there is no straight line on the right inclining slightly to the left as in the *bet*. However, my original assumption that the descending line of the *bet* was erased is not likely, since the distance between this line and the next is small, and the tops of the letters in the next line are all clear.⁷

Prof. F. Kraus suggested to me the reading סעריה "Se'ariyahu", but it doesn't seem paleographically possible. The vertical line of the *resh* is too long for a *dalet*; cf. the shorter and more open *dalet* in the Yeda'yahu (line 7). The letter in this name is identical to the *resh* in the name Raga (line 2); the scribe also tended to round out the descending line toward the left, *vid.* the names Uriyahu (line 2), Neri'yahu (line 4), and Gemaryahu (line 8).

The root סערי is often used to define the action of a god, and this is apparently the meaning of the name Se'ariyahu.¹⁰

Line 5. Ahikam — from this period we know Ahikam son of Shaphan, one of Josiah's ministers.¹¹ The name is apparently a contraction of אהיקם (similar to אהיקם Adonikam, אהיקם Eliakim, יהויקים Jehoiakim, יקים Jakim, and יקימיyah).¹²

Shema'yahu — this name also appears in Inscription 27:2, and *vid.* there.

Line 6. Gaham — this name is known in the Bible as one of the sons of Nahor (Gen 22:24),¹³ and its appearance at the end of the Monarchy is surprising. Prof. B. Mazar drew my attention to the possibility that we have before us an instance of revival of archaic names, as in the case of the name Haran, which appears only in Genesis 11:26–31, and in 1 Chronicles 23:9.

Line 7. Yeda'yahu — a biblical name (Jedaiah) known especially as the name of a Cohanite family.¹⁴

Line 8. Gemaryahu — two men of this name (Gemariah) are known from the Bible, both of them from this period; one lived during Jehoiakim's reign, and the other in Zedekiah's.¹⁵

Line 9. In this line, too, there was only one name, as in the previous three lines. All that remains of it is the ending -yahu.

Line 10. There is no doubt that the word עביר, meaning "produce, grain", is meant. This word is known in Accadian (*ebûru*), and in Aramaic inscriptions at Elephantine it is a routine term for "grain".¹⁶ In the Bible, this word appears only once — עביר הארץ "the produce of the land", explained in the continuation as תבואה ארץ כנען "the fruit of the land of Canaan" (Josh 5: 11–12).¹⁶

Thus it would appear that the last line contained the total amount of the list, in which wheat was called by the more general name עביר "grain". In this line there is no name, and it is written on the lower edge of the ostrakon, at a marked distance from the line above it. This total appears to have been registered by another scribe, with a different handwriting. The 'ayin is written with one straight line and one curved, and not with two curved lines as in the rest of the letter. The descending line of the *bet* is more horizontal and shorter than in the other places, and the top of the letter is rounder. The

descending line of the *resh* is straighter and doesn't pull to the left, as in the upper part of the letter.

The Signs. The most difficult problem posed by this ostrakon is the interpretation of the signs appearing at the end of each row and in the last line.

After each of the names, only one sign appears, except after the first name (line 2) and in the last line, where an additional sign and a vertical stroke appear. Thus it would seem that the additional sign at the beginning and at the end represents the measure, and the rest of the signs represent the amounts. The heavy vertical stroke after the sign for the measure apparently belongs to it, similarly to the vertical line after the *bet* in the Eliashib ostraca (Inscriptions 1:3; 2:2; 3:2; etc.), which is the abbreviation of the bath measure.

Apparently the same measure was meant in both line 2 and line 10, even though the sign (a) looks a little different as written by two different scribes. The sign is composed of a curved line and a stroke to its right which is vertical in the upper sign and horizontal in the lower one. A similar sign appears in the papyrus from Wadi Murabba'at, in the form of a curved line and a slanting line intersecting it.¹⁷ Milik suggests interpreting this sign as the seah measure, that is, a third of the bath (ephah).¹⁸ His only reason is the difference between this sign and the one appearing in the "barley" ostraca from Samaria, interpreted by some as the sign for the ephah.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, there are no data justifying this interpretation of the L-shaped sign from Samaria. Since it appears that the sign from Arad represents the ephah, as we shall see immediately, there is no reason not to suppose that the sign from Samaria represents the smaller measure, the seah.²⁰

This hypothesis depends principally on the numeral (b) appearing five times in this ostrakon. In contrast to the rest of the numbers, this sign cannot be interpreted by comparison to regular hieratic numerals. This sign appears also in other ostraca (Inscriptions 18:5; 33:3; 42:1,2 and 83:3).

In Inscription 18, this sign appears next to another sign interpreted as the homer (cor) measure by comparison to Inscription 1:7. The measure nearest the homer measure is the lethech, which is half a homer or five ephahs.²¹ We may thus suppose that instead of the number five, the sign for the lethech measure was written, and thus the basic measure must be the ephah.

The rest of the signs are similar to the regular hieratic numerals. Sign (c) (line 3) is the number 8.²² Sign (e) (lines 9,10) is the number 6, and *vid.* Inscription 25:3.²³ Sign (d) (line 5, actually written at the end of line 6), is very blurred. In the preliminary publication, we compared it to the sign in line 9, but now it seems to us that these are two different signs. The upper dot appears to be a smudge, and not part of the sign; thus this is the hieratic number 7.²⁴

The grand total of these numbers is 46. The total written below consists of two signs. The first sign reminds one of the hieratic sign for 40,²⁵ and we have already seen that the second sign is the hieratic numeral 6.²⁶



In comparison to the lists of grain rations from Ugarit and Elephantine,²⁷ this ostrakon appears to be a list of wheat apportioned to the people whose names are enumerated on it.

1. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 177–78 (Heb.); and *vid.* the seal impressions from Jericho (Vattoni, *Sigilli*, 184).

2. This proposal was put to me by Prof. Mazar.

3. Diringier, *Inscrizioni*, p. 49.

4. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* V, cols. 817ff. (Heb.).

5. Diringier, *Inscrizioni*, p. 190.

6. A. Reifenberg, *PEQ* 74 (1942), p. 109; Moscati, *L'epigrafi*, p. 64.

7. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* VI, cols. 112–13, 124ff. (Heb.).

8. *Enc. bibl.* V, col. 928 (Heb.); and *vid.* Vattoni, *Sigilli*, 210.

9. This reading was suggested by E. Peuch, and *vid.* Lemaire, *Ostraca*, p. 340.

10. *Vid.* Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 663.

11. *Enc. bibl.* I, col. 221 (Heb.); and *vid.* Vattoni, *Sigilli*, 210.

12. *Enc. bibl.* II, cols. 474–75 (Heb.).

13. *Enc. bibl.* III, cols. 470–71 (Heb.); and *vid.* Vattoni, *Sigilli*, 49.

14. *Enc. bibl.* II, col. 527 (Heb.).

15. Jean-Hofijzer, *Dictionnaire*, p. 202.

16. *Vid.* Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 674.

17. *Murabba'at*, p. 98, Pl. XXVIII B.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 97. I accepted his suggestion in the preliminary publication of this ostrakon, *vid.* BASOR 197 (1970), p. 37 and *Eretz-Israel* IX (1969), p. 18 (Heb.).

19. *Vid.* Diringier, *Inscrizioni*, pp. 71f.; Moscati, *L'epigrafi*, pp. 37–39.

20. It seems to me that the interpretation of the numeral at Samaria as

13 or 3 is incorrect. The sign is composed of a long slanting line and two short lines. Now it is clear that this is the hieratic sign for the number 300, and cf. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 634 and *vid.* above, Inscription 2:4. Thus there is no longer any doubt that the L-shaped sign between שערם "barley" and "300" is not part of the number, but is a sign for the measure. Thus it is possible to suggest the following reading for the ostrakon from Samaria: 300 שערם סאים "300 seahs of barley".

21. *Enc. bibl.* IV, col. 852 (Heb.). [However, the sign in question bears a marked resemblance to the hieratic for Egyptian = "portion, allotment", AFR]

22. Cf. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 621.

23. The writing there is identical to the sign in line 10, and the sign in line 9 is written slightly differently. We have to remember that the list itself and its total were written by two different hands.

24. Cf. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 620.

25. In the preliminary publication, we interpreted it as 30, in comparison with one of the ostraca from Meşad Hashavyahu (*vid.* *Eretz-Israel* IX [1969], p. 18). Now it appears to me that the small horizontal line also belongs to the number (and is not a trace of earlier writing), and it is used to emend the slanted line, making it appear straighter, as befits the number 40.

26. Lemaire (*Ostraca*, pp. 342ff. *IH*, pp. 201–202) suggests interpreting the sign (b) as the ephah measure, and the sign of the total as the cor. He gives no interpretation for the three remaining signs (c, d, e), wherein his suggestion fails; three different signs cannot add up to five ephahs, as is necessary for his supposed total of a cor (10 ephahs).

27. CH. Virolleaud, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* II, 1957, p. 125; A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1923, pp. 3–7; Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 339, 343, *IH*, pp. 201–202.

Inscription 32

Handwritten Hebrew text on a fragment of an ostrakon, showing the date and place name.

ב יח לחדש סוסה ב-ח לחיש (חצר) סוסה

On the eighth of the month [Hazar]-susah

This ostrakon came from the same room where Inscriptions 31 and 34 and seals of Eliashib (Inscriptions 105-

107) were found. In this small room were found pieces of a jar or two with carinated shoulders. Most of the pieces fit together into two large pieces, one of which was contiguous to Inscription 31, but no writing was preserved on it. On the second piece, remains of script written in different directions is discernible. Thus it is clear that the pieces of the broken jars were used for writing several ostraca, and were certainly written on the spot. Only one line is legible here, near the shoulder. The script is upside-down on the jar; but in any case it is clear that we have before us several ostraca written on fragments of jars, and not one inscription written on the jar itself.

This line of script includes a date and place name. As in most of the ostraca, only the day of the month is given. The number 8 is written using the hieratic numeral 5 plus three strokes. Near the end of the line, the letters סוסה are clear, thus the completion [חצר]-[סוסה] seems certain. This place was mentioned in the Bible in the list of the cities of the tribe of Simeon: Hazar-susah in Joshua 19:5 and Hazar-susim in 1 Chronicles 4:31. It is written in plene writing with *waw*, as in the Bible. Between the words לחדש and סוסה, there is room for the three letters of the word חצר, but there is no room for an additional letter, such as *mem* or *lamed*. At the end of the line, traces of another letter are preserved, probably a *kaph*. There is no way of knowing what the subject of the ostrakon was, whether a consignment received from Hazar-susah, as in Inscription 25, or a consignment meant for this place.

The site of Hazar-susah is unknown. Albright suggested identifying it with Kh. Abū Sūsein, southeast of Tell el-Fār'ah,¹ but this is too far from Arad, and as such this inscription does not support Albright's identification. However, it is now clear that this town existed until the end of the Monarchy. The question remains, why do Madmannah and Sansannah in Joshua 15:31 take the place of Beth-marcaboth and Hazar-susah given in the lists of Joshua 19:5 and 1 Chronicles 4:31? Perhaps these changes were made because of the similarity between Sansannah and (Hazar-)susah?²

1. W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 4 (1924), p. 157.

2. A. Ali, *PJB* 28 (1933), p. 15.



Inscription 33

חטם	חטם	1. חטם
חטם	חטם	2. חטם וחטם
חטם	חטם	3. חטם
חטם	חטם	4. חטם
חטם	חטם	5. חטם
חטם	חטם	6. חטם
חטם	חטם	7. חטם
חטם	חטם	8. חטם

Wheat (seah)
Hekat 53 and wheat
Wheat (lethech)
And wheat

Wh]eat (seah)
And wh[ea]t
Wh]eat

This ostrakon was found in the western branch of the storehouse in Stratum VII and it contains remains of eight lines of script. The script is well preserved on the slip, but in many places the slip has peeled, and with it the writing.

From the repetition of the word "wheat", it is clear that this ostrakon, too, comprised a list of amounts of grain, as in the previous ostrakon.

The word חטם is clear in lines 1, 2, and 3, and it is possible to reconstruct it from the remnants of script in lines 4, 6, 7, and 8. Not as in the preceding ostrakon, the word "wheat" here is repeated in each entry. In line 1, it is not a title, as can be seen from the remains of the sign after it. The copulative *waw*, appears before חטם in lines 2, 4, and 7.

All the rest of the signs preserved are measures and numbers. In line 3 there appears the same sign that occurred five times in the previous ostrakon as well as in other ostraca. We interpreted it as the half-homer, that is 5 ephahs — a measure also known as the lethech. After it comes a faded *bet*. Perhaps this is an additional variant of the sign for ephah (*cf.* Inscription 31:2, 10), or the bath, a liquid measure equal to the ephah.

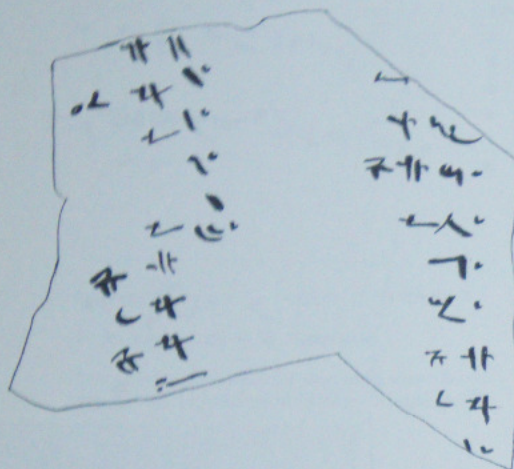
In lines 1 and 6 the L-shaped sign appears which reminded us of the sign in the "barley" ostrakon from Samaria, and which we interpreted as the sign for the seah measure (Inscription 31).

In line 2 comes the sign for the Egyptian *hekat*, and *cf.* Inscriptions 25 and 34. After it comes the number 5 with three additional dots, i.e.: 50 + 3 = 53 *hekats* (*vid.* above, Inscription 25, note 3).

Thus, this ostrakon is a list of amounts of wheat, some in Hebrew measures (ephah, seah) and some in an Egyptian measure (*hekat*). Since no personal or place names were preserved, it would seem that this is an inventory list of the storehouse made by a Hebrew scribe, similar to the next ostrakon written by an Egyptian scribe.



Inscription 34*



חקאת 90 ?
 חקאת 30 ?
 חקאת 100 חטם (?)
 חקאת 50 חטם (?)
 חקאת 60 חטם (?)
 יין (?) קנקן
 שעורה 50 (חקאת)
 חקאת
 חקאת 10 שעורה (?) 25+50
 חקאת 10 חטם (?)
 חקאת 10 חטם (?)
 חקאת 10 חטם (?)
 חקאת 20 חטם (?)
 יין (?) קנקן
 שעורה (?) 50 (חקאת)
 שעורה (?) קנקן

Right column

Hekat 90?
 Hekat 30?
 Hekat 100 wheat (?)
 Hekat 50 (wheat?)
 Hekat 60 (wheat?)
 Wine (?) pot
 Barley 50 (hekat)
 Hekat

Left column

Hekat 10 barley (?) 50+25
 Hekat 10 wheat (?)
 Hekat 10 (wheat?)
 (Hekat) 10 (wheat?)
 Hekat 20 wheat (?)
 Wine (?) pot
 Barley (?) 50 (hekat)
 Barley (?) pot

This ostrakon was found in the same room with the three seals of Eliashib (Inscriptions No. 105-107), the wheat ostrakon (No. 30), and Inscription 32.

The text contains two columns of hieratic signs. S.

* Preliminary publication, *vid.*: S. Yeivin, A Hieratic Ostrakon from Tel Arad, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 153-159.

סור ימני
 1. ...
 2. a
 3. b
 4. c
 5. ...
 6. ...
 7. e d
 8. 1/2 f
 9. ...
 סור שמאלי
 10. ...
 11. 3/4 1/2 f
 12. c
 13. ...
 14. ...
 15. c
 16. e d
 17. 1/2 f
 18. e f
 19. ...

Yeivin, who wrote the preliminary publication, assumed that these columns are arranged in rows, and that a third column containing personal names is missing on the right. Neither of these assumptions appear appropriate to me. The right edge of the ostrakon is cut in a straight line, and the signs begin at a set and uniform distance from this margin. Thus there is no reason to assume that the ostrakon had more text on the right. In addition, the two columns are only approximately arranged opposite each other. Yeivin missed the single stroke remaining of line 5 in the left-hand column, supposing it to be a continuation of the number 1 from line 4. If so, this would be three times longer than the rest of the numerals 1; and anyway the lines do not connect in a straight line.¹ Thus we must regard each column separately, and it would appear that the script commences with the present right-hand column.

In contrast to the Hebrew ostraca, which contain hieratic numbers and perhaps some hieratic signs, this ostrakon is composed completely in hieratic. The signs are well-written, and the complete mastery of the hieratic leads one to suppose that it was written by an Egyptian scribe. This would also explain the differences between the form of the numerals in this and in the Hebrew ostraca, such as the 3 written with the lines connected and the right stroke longer, and especially the clumsily and overlarge writing of the numeral 6 in the Hebrew ostraca (Inscriptions 25:3; 31:9).

There is actually no doubt as to the interpretation of the signs for the measures and the numerals, according to Yeivin's proposal. Nine rows begin with the *hekat* sign, the standard grain measure.² After the *hekat* sign there is always a number: five times the number 1, and one time each the numbers 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, and perhaps 9.³

However, as we have seen above (Inscriptions 25, note 3), these numbers represent tens and not units when they come after the *hekat* measure.

After the number comes a hieratic sign which undoubtedly represents the commodity. In two cases, after this sign there is an additional sign (rows 3 and 11). Its meaning is clear in line 11: these are the signs for 1/2 and 1/4 *hekat*.⁴ Coming after the *hekat* sign, they refer to the basic unit of 100, and thus represent respectively 50 (1/2) and 25 (1/4) *hekat*.⁵ Therefore, row 11 contains the following entry:

"Hekat 1 commodity 1/2 + 1/2", i.e., "Hekat 10 commodity 50 + 25".

The last sign in line 3, in contrast, is neither a numeral nor a fraction.⁶ Perhaps the type of commodity is written in this line by two signs.

Five rows commence by listing the commodities without the sign for the *hekat* preceding them. In the right-hand column, the beginning of each entry is written directly below the previous one, and in lines 7 and 8 the signs for the commodity are written directly below and above the *hekat* signs in the preceding and following lines. By contrast, in the left-hand column, the scribe kept the signs for the commodities in a straight vertical line, and thus moved the beginnings of lines 16-18 to the left.

In these five lines, the quantity is given only after the sign for the commodity. In lines 8 and 17, the sign of the 1/2 *hekat* reappears, i.e., 50. In rows 7, 16, and 18 there is another sign, and Yeivin's suggestion that this is a pot is acceptable.⁷

Whereas the measures and numbers are fairly certain, the interpretation of the signs for the commodities is not, since there is very little epigraphic material from this



period with which to compare it.⁸ Two of Yeivin's suggestions are probable, although uncertain: sign (f) (rows 8, 11, 17, 18) is somewhat similar to the sign for *lm* = "barley from southern Egypt".⁹ At any rate, the *hekat* measure shows that some sort of grain was meant. Sign (d) (lines 7, 16) can be interpreted as a shortened hieratic form of 'irp = "wine",¹⁰ even though we have no example of this form. In both cases, this commodity appears with the sign for the pot, and not the *hekat*.¹¹

There is no real basis for the interpretation of the other signs (a,b,c). Yeivin's suggestion to interpret the sign (c) (lines 4, 12, 15) as animal fat is not acceptable. In all three cases, this sign appears together with the *hekat* sign. True, once the sign (f) (barley?) appears with the pot sign (line 18), and the same sign appeared beforehand with the *hekat* sign (line 11) or with fractions of the *hekat* (lines 8, 18). The registration of measures was not consistent, and possibly grain could be listed sometimes with the *hekat* measure, and sometimes with the pot sign. But it does not seem likely that animal fat or other liquids would ever be written with the *hekat* measure, and thus the wine — if our interpretation of sign (d), is correct — is always listed with the pot sign. Two of the signs under discussion (b,c) appear together with the *hekat* sign, and apparently the third sign (a), too,¹² if the reading of the numeral 9 is correct. Thus it would appear that the three signs are different types of grain. We suggest interpreting sign (c) as wheat only because it appears three times and in considerable quantities (100 *hekat* in line 4). From the other ostraca, it is clear that wheat was one of the characteristic commodities stored at Arad.

In four rows, only the *hekat* measure and a number appear, without naming the commodity. It can be supposed that the same commodity which appeared in the row above it was meant. The scribe was inconsistent in this matter, too: sometimes he repeated the name of the commodity, and sometimes he wrote only a number without repeating the name of the commodity (rows 5, 6, 13, 14).

Even though the types of commodities named are doubtful, the general content of the ostraca is clear. It is a list of quantities of various commodities (types of grain and wine?) listed in columns by an Egyptian scribe. There is no basis for Yeivin's proposal that this was a notation of supplies to Egyptian mercenaries. Reconstruction of an additional column with personal names has nothing to commend it; and even if we had information on Egyptian mercenaries at Arad, it is not clear why their supplies should be listed in Egyptian. The Kittiyim, at any rate, received their supplies at Arad by presenting Hebrew ostraca.

Another interpretation would seem to hit closer to home, viz. that an inventory of the Arad storehouse was made by Egyptian clerks, who counted and weighed the commodities and dictated each entry to the scribe. This would explain why the items were listed in columns, with no order or consistency, and without further details.¹³ Afterwards, the scribe would have sat in Eliashib's office and computed the totals of each commodity, leaving the original list behind. A similar inventory list, written by a

Hebrew scribe, is apparently Inscription 33. Perhaps in that case, a local scribe assisted an Egyptian scribe, which would account for the mixture of Hebrew and Egyptian measures.

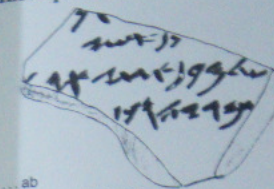
Thus we are led to an important historical conclusion. This ostrakon was found in that part of Stratum VII which was destroyed by an enemy. It would seem, therefore, that the fortress was conquered by the Egyptians. Since it had been possible to make an exact inventory of the storehouses, it would appear that the fortress fell without a struggle, and was burnt only after the Egyptians took what they wanted from the supplies.

It seems to me that historically, only one time could have been appropriate to such an event: the year 609 B.C.E., when Josiah died at Megiddo and his son Jehoiaikim was put on the throne by Pharaoh Necho. The Egyptians dominated the country at that time, and collected a heavy tribute from Jehoiaikim (2 Kgs 23:35; 2 Chr 31:3). Punitive forces may have been sent at that time to the various Negeb fortresses — always a source of annoyance to the Egyptians — which were destroyed after commandeering their supplies. This also agrees with the rest of the data. The destruction of Strata VII and VI are close in time to one another, and the same officer, Eliashib, son of Eshiyahu, returned to Arad. We have seen that Arad VI was evidently destroyed in the third year of Zedekiah's reign (595 B.C.E.) and fell before an Edomite attack (*vid.* above, p. 40). This accords well with the supposition that Arad VII fell in 609 to the Egyptians, and *vid.* below, Inscription 88.

Even though the list is not complete, it is of interest to total up the quantities of the various commodities listed. According to our reading, they are as follows:
Wheat — 260 *hekat* (about 1250 kg.);
Barley — 185 *hekat* (about 900 kg.) + 1 pot;
Other grains — 120 *hekat* (about 550 kg.);
Wine — 2 pots.

1. One cannot assume, just because the sherd is broken here, that the two lines can be placed closer together as one line. The photograph shows the ostrakon glued together as it was before being broken.
2. *Vid.* A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, London 1966, pp. 197-99.
3. The first sign in row 2 is meant. This sign is very faded, but is not similar to the sign in row 4, 12, and 15 (c), as Yeivin thought. This sign is in line with the numerals, and only the number 9 is possible, having a long stroke slanting to the right, *vid.* — Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 622.
4. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, Nos. 708-709.
5. A. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
6. Yeivin suggests 1/3 without documentation.
7. Möller (*Hier. Pal.*, No. 506) has no earlier examples.
8. *Vid.* Yeivin, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
9. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 292. As Yeivin noted, we have no examples from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.
10. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, M43, as proposed by Prof. Sarah Groll.
11. This sign is clear in line 16, too, in contrast to Yeivin's reading here 1/6.
12. Yeivin interpreted this sign as 1/4, but there is little similarity (*cf.* Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, No. 670). According to its place in the column, it should signify a commodity and not a number.
13. Yeivin has no solution for these "inexplicable peculiarities", *vid. op. cit.*, p. 158.

Inscription 35



...ab
...son of Eshiya[hu]

Shallum son of Ah'eyal
Gemaryahu son of...

This ostrakon was found unstratified. According to its script, it belongs to Stratum VII.

Line 1. Even though the two letters are unclear, it would appear that this is the component "Ab" in such names as Joab and Abihu.

Line 2. If the reading *aleph*, *shin*, and *yod* is correct, this would appear to be the beginning of the name Eshiyahu, *vid.* Inscription 17:3.

Line 3. Shallum — a common biblical name, e.g. Maaseiah son of Shallum (Jer 35:4), Shallum the son of

אב ... אב
בן אש'יהו ... בן אש'יהו
שלום בן אחיאל ... שלום בן אחיאל
גמריהו בן ... גמריהו בן



Kore, the porter (1 Chr 9:19), and the husband of the prophetess Huldah (1 Kgs 22:14; 2 Chr 34:22); and it is also known from Hebrew seals.¹ The name appears in the royal families of Israel (2 Kgs 15:8-15) and Judah, where it is the first name of Jehoahaz son of Josiah (Jer 22:11; 1 Chr 3:15).

Ah'eyal — a hitherto unknown name composed of the elements "Ah/Ahi", and "Eyal" = strength.²

1. Moscati, *L'epigrafa*, pp. 60, 63, 81, 83; Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 58, 120, 121, 147.
2. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 57; Lemaire, *IH*, p. 204, suggests the reading *hyy[m]*, attested in the Bible, Ahiam (2 Sam. 23:35, 2 Chron 11:35).

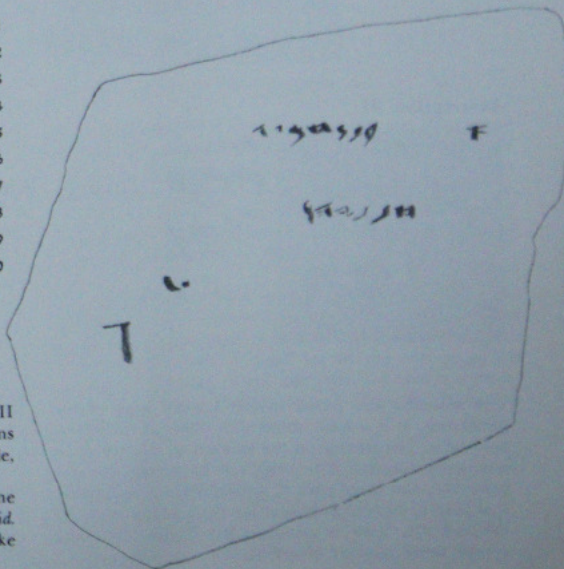
Inscription 36

אב ... אב
בן נחמיה ... בן נחמיה
חנניהו ... חנניהו
1 ... 1
5 ... 5

Ben Nehemyahu
Hananyahu
1
5

This ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VII near the western wall, and it contains very faded remains of at least 10 rows of script. From the little that is legible, it appears that this is a list of names and numbers.

The only decipherable names are Nehemyahu in line 2, *vid.* Inscription 31:3, and Hananyahu in line 4, *vid.* Inscription 3:3. In lines 6 and 7, it is possible to make out the numbers 1 and 5.





Inscription 37



1. ...
2. פגש
3. 1

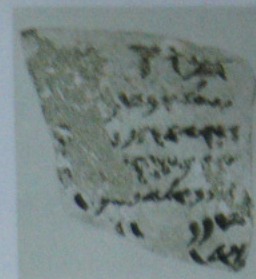
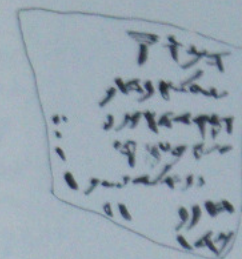
...met...

This ostrakon was found in the western wing of the storehouse. It is a small sherd with traces of writing on both sides. The writing on the inside is so faded as to be completely illegible. The script on the outside is better preserved, and three rows of writing are distinguishable. It is possible to read only four letters in lines 2 and 3. If the verb פגש, "met" is meant in line 2, then this would appear to be remains of a letter.



Sherds in situ in Locus 785, including Inscription 37.

Inscription 38



- | | |
|----------|--------------|
| הכוס | 1. הכוס |
| שעל | 2. שעלאנחנ |
| גמריהו | 3. גמריהובנש |
| שבע | 4. שבע בנ ר |
| בנ אלישב | 5. בנ אלישב |
| חנן | 6. חנן |
| בר | 7. בר |

Hakkos
Shu'al son(?) of Hana[n]
Gemaryahu son of...
Sheba son of... 1
...son of Eliashib 1
Hanan 2
Zajkkur 1

The ostrakon was found on the western slope outside the walls. According to the script, it belongs to Stratum VII. It contains a list of names and numbers.

Line 1. Hakkos — an unusual and unknown name, but there is no doubt of the reading of the letters. כוס is a small night bird.¹ This name is one of many taken from animal names, some of them unusual animals — such as grasshopper (תגב) and flea (פרעש).² As to prefixing the definite article *he* to the name, cf. הקין "the thorn".³

Line 2. There is no doubt as to the reading of the preserved letters: "שעלאנחנ", but this combination gives no sensible name. Thus we believe that the scribe made a mistake, and wrote an *aleph* instead of a *bet*. In most of the lines, the word בן "son of" appears, written hastily, and *vid.* especially line 3. Making this correction, we read two likely names:

Shu'al — this name, also an animal name ("fox"), appears in the Bible among the families of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:31), and is also known from Hebrew seals.⁴ Only the first two letters of the second name were

preserved, חנ, which should probably be completed as חנן Hanan, or as a name beginning with this base, like Hananyahu (and *vid.* line 6).

Line 3. Gemaryahu — this name also appears in Inscription 31:8, and *vid.* there.

Line 4. Sheba — *vid.* 2 Sam 20:1ff.; 1 Chr 5:13.

Line 5. Eliashib — *vid.* Inscription 1:1.

Line 6. Hanan — it would appear that the short name Hanan was meant, known from the Bible and Hebrew seals.⁵ In the period under discussion, there lived a man by the name of Hanan son of Igdaliah (Jer 35:4). Even though this name is near the edge of the ostrakon, it would seem to be complete, and there are no remains of additional letters before the *bet*.

Line 7. Only the letters *kaf* and *resh* and after them the number 1 are preserved, since the rest of the lines appear to be complete, at least at the beginning of each, it seems that only a small bit of the corner of the ostrakon is missing. Thus, the most reasonable completion is the name Zakkur, known from the Bible and other inscriptions.⁶

1. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 428.
2. Noth, *Persennamen*, pp. 227f.
3. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 834.
4. Düringer, *Lucrisioni*, p. 200; Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 41: 92.
5. *Enc. bibl.* III, col. 217 (Heb.).
6. *Enc. bibl.* II, cols. 919-920 (Heb.).

Inscription 39

1. רמ בן יקמיהו
2. שמעיהו בן מלכיהו
3. משלם בן נדביהו
4. תנחם בן ידעיהו
5. גאליהו בן ידעיהו
6. יהו בן אחי
7. יהו בן ש-
8. מעיהו

9. יאזניהו בן בניהו
10. יהואב בן חלדי
11. אביהו

הצד האחורי

יאזניהו בן בניהו
יהואב בן חלדי
אביהו

Ajdām son of Yeqamyahu
Shema'yahu son of Malkiyahu
Meshullam son of Nedabyahu
Tanhum son of Yeda'yahu
Ge'alyahu son of Yeda'yahu
...yahu son of Ahi
...yahu son of She-
ma'yahu

The Reverse

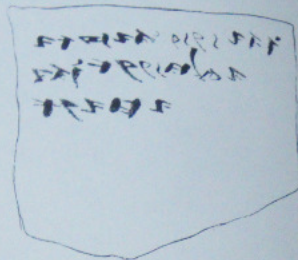
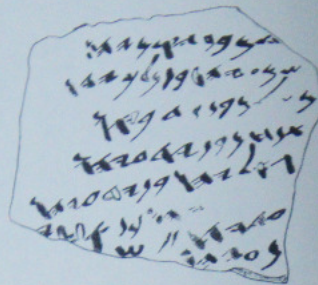
Ya'zanyahu son of Benayahu
Yeho'ab son of Heldai
Abihai

This ostrakon was found on the western slope outside the walls. According to its script, it belongs to Stratum VII.

The ostrakon contains a list of names only. Aside from the broken upper right-hand corner, the ostrakon is whole, even at the bottom where the letters reach the very edge — as is clear from the three lines written on the reverse side. The letters are crowded, and the rows do not begin in a straight line, but conform to the edge of the sherd.

The list contained the names of 10 people. Nine of them are given together with the patronymic, while the tenth stands alone. Underneath the last row, there are traces of writing which appear to be remains of an earlier document (palimpsest).

Line 1. Only the last two letters of the first name are preserved: *dalet* and *mem*. The broken corner could have contained one or two letters at most. Thus it is possible to complete the name [*'*]dm. Perhaps this is an archaism, such as Gaham in Inscription 31:6, and cf. the name עבד-אדם Obed-Edom in the Bible and in the inscription from Carthage.¹



Yeqamyahu — the name is known from the Bible and from Hebrew seals.² In the period under discussion, one of the sons of King Jehoiachin bore this name (Jekamiah, 1 Chr 3:18).

Line 2. Shema'yahu — *vid.* Inscription 27:2.

Malkiyahu — a common biblical name, popular at Arad, and *vid.* Inscription 24:13.

Line 3. Meshullam — This name is known from Hebrew seals.³ It is a shortened form of the biblical name Meshelemiah.⁴

Nedabyahu — the name is known from the Bible as one of the sons of Jehoiachin (Nedabiah, 1 Chr 3:18)⁵ and is apparently incised on a shekel weight from Lachish.⁶

Line 4. Tanhum — this name appears in Hebrew inscriptions.⁷ Its meaning is similar to Nahum, *vid.* Inscription 16:10, and the form תנחמת Tanhumeth appears in the Bible (2 Kgs 25:23; Jer 40:8).

Yeda'yahu — *vid.* Inscription 31:7. The same name reappears in the next line.

Line 5. Ge'alyahu — *vid.* Inscription 16:5.

Line 6. Ahi — an abbreviation of the common biblical name Ahiyah (Ahijah).⁸

Lines 7-8. Shema'yahu — this name, continued from line 7 to line 8, has already appeared in line 2.



Line 9. Ya'zanyahu — the name is known from the Bible (Jaazaniah) and from Hebrew seals.⁹ During the period under discussion, one of the Rechabites bore this name (Jer 35:3) and one of the commanders of the soldiers that came to Gedalyahu at Mizpah (2 Kgs 25:23).

Benayahu — a common name in the Bible, known also from Hebrew seals.¹⁰

Line 10. Yeho'ab — In the Bible, only the shortened form of this name appears: Joab.¹¹

Heldai — *vid.* Inscription 27:5.

Line 11. Abihai — this name is known from a Hebrew seal.¹²

1. *Enc. bibl.* VI, col. 15 (Heb.); [Lemaire, *IB*, p. 206, proposed [Q]ddem comparing such names as Kedemah (Gen 25:15; 1 Chron 1:31) and Kadmiel (Ez 3:9; Neh 9:4; 10:10 et al.).]
2. *Enc. bibl.* III, col. 764 (Heb.); Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 53; 122; N. Avigad, *Eretz-Israel* 1 (1941), p. 34 (Heb.).
3. Düringer, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 212-214; Moscati, *L'epigrafa*, p. 76; Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 55; 56; 189; 190.
4. *Vid.* *Enc. bibl.* V, cols. 567-568 (Heb.).
5. *Ibid.*, col. 785 (Heb.).
6. *Vid.* Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 18 (1968), p. 165; also in Hebrew in *Beth Hamikra* II (1960), p. 20.
7. Moscati, *L'epigrafa*, pp. 751; Y. Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat Rahel, Seasons 1961 and 1962*, Rome 1964, p. 32; Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 187; 192.
8. *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 212-215 (Heb.).
9. *Ibid.*, III, cols. 413-415 (Heb.); Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 21; 241.
10. *Enc. bibl.* II, cols. 262-263 (Heb.).
11. *Ibid.*, III, cols. 572-573 (Heb.).
12. Düringer, *Iscrizioni*, p. 260.



Inscription 39 in situ in Locus 314



Handwritten transcription of the ostracon text, showing the original script and modern Hebrew transliteration. The text is arranged in lines, with some lines starting with a large letter 'א' (Aleph) and others with 'ו' (Vav) or 'י' (Yod). The transcription includes the following lines:

א. בנכמ גמור [יהו] ונח-
 מנהו שלח [ם] לשלם
 מלכיהו ברכת [ה] ליהו
 ועת: השה [ע] ברה [ל] בה
 אל אשר אמן [ר] וכתבת
 אל ארני [את] כל אשר כ-
 צה האיש [ואשיהו] כ-
 א מאתה ואיש [לא נתו ל-]
 הם. והו ודעתה [המכתבם] מ-
 אדם נתתם לארני [בטקם י-]
 רד ים. ו [א] ש [יהו] לו [בביתו]
 והא המכתב בקש [ולא נתת-]
 י. ודע מלך יהוד [ה] מי אי-
 נמו וכלם לשלם את ה [ו-]
 את הרעה אש [ר] אר [ם] עשתה.

1. בנכמ גמור [יהו] ונח-
 2. מנהו שלח [ם] לשלם
 3. מלכיהו ברכת [ה] ליהו
 4. ועת: השה [ע] ברה [ל] בה
 5. אל אשר אמן [ר] וכתבת
 6. אל ארני [את] כל אשר כ-
 7. צה האיש [ואשיהו] כ-
 8. א מאתה ואיש [לא נתו ל-]
 9. הם. והו ודעתה [המכתבם] מ-
 10. אדם נתתם לארני [בטקם י-]
 11. רד ים. ו [א] ש [יהו] לו [בביתו]
 12. והא המכתב בקש [ולא נתת-]
 13. י. ודע מלך יהוד [ה] מי אי-
 14. נמו וכלם לשלם את ה [ו-]
 15. את הרעה אש [ר] אר [ם] עשתה.

1. בנכמ גמור [יהו] ונח-
 2. מנהו שלח [ם] לשלם
 3. מלכיהו ברכת [ה] ליהו
 4. ועת: השה [ע] ברה [ל] בה
 5. אל אשר אמן [ר] וכתבת
 6. אל ארני [את] כל אשר כ-
 7. צה האיש [ואשיהו] כ-
 8. א מאתה ואיש [לא נתו ל-]
 9. הם. והו ודעתה [המכתבם] מ-
 10. אדם נתתם לארני [בטקם י-]
 11. רד ים. ו [א] ש [יהו] לו [בביתו]
 12. והא המכתב בקש [ולא נתת-]
 13. י. ודע מלך יהוד [ה] מי אי-
 14. נמו וכלם לשלם את ה [ו-]
 15. את הרעה אש [ר] אר [ם] עשתה.

Your son Gemar[yahu] and Nehemyahu gre[et] Malkiyahu; I have blessed [you to the Lor]d, and now: Your servant has listened to what [you] have said, and I [have written] to my lord [everything that] the man [wa]nted, [and Eshiyahu ca]me from you, and [no] one [gave it to] them. And behold you knew [about the letters from] Edom (that) I gave to [my] lord [before sun]set. And [E]sh[hi]yah[u] slept [at my house], and he asked for the letter, [but I didn't gi]ve (it). The King of Judah should know [that w]e cannot send the [...], and th[is] is the evil that Edo[m] has done].

The ostracon was found in a room in the center of the fortress, which was full of compartments and various installations — apparently used for the manufacture of perfume.¹ This is an extremely interesting text, sent apparently by the commander of a southern fortress to the main citadel at Arad. Only about two-thirds of its contents were preserved, and in the preliminary publication, I didn't attempt to complete the missing parts. In a second article, I emended my first readings in several details, and now with some new readings, it is possible to reconstruct most of the text. Some of the completions are naturally guesses, but it seems to me that in the main, the contents are clear enough from the parts which were preserved.

The ostracon is whole in the upper part and on the right side. Thus the beginning of the letter and the beginnings of 15 lines are perfectly clear. The left side is

missing, aside from a small section at the top which is mostly illegible. It appears that this upper left section of the letter was indeed the left-hand edge of the ostrakon, since the words make sense. Thus the upper width of the letter was 66 mm., and the bottom width about 135 mm. The width of the sherd that was preserved is 31 mm. above and 88 mm. below. In the first four lines, about half of each line is missing (aside from single letters), and of the remaining lines, something more than a third of each is missing.

There is another difficulty in that the sherd on which the letter was written is a dark grey fragment of a jug with black soot smudges. The black ink does not stand out on the dark background, and the letters in rows 10-12 are especially faded and defaced.

Line 1. Your son — There is no doubt as to the reading of this word. This opening shows that the men who wrote the letter were of inferior rank to the addressee, and for a similar opening (בנ) *vid.* Inscription 21.

As we shall see below, the addressee of the letter was one man alone, Malkiyahu, and as such the plural suffix in בנכמ is surprising. It would appear that Malkiyahu, similar to those who received instructions in Inscription 24, represents the authority to whom the sender is subordinate. Thus it seems that Malkiyahu was one of the senior administrators at Arad, apparently the commander (the שר, in the language of the letter from Mesad Hashavyahu).

Gemaryahu² — a popular name which has also appeared in three previous ostraca (Inscriptions 31:8; 35:4; 38:3).

Nehemyahu — this name, too, has already appeared in Inscription 31:3. The reading, "and Nehemyahu", seems

* Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni, Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad, BASOR 197 (1970), pp. 28ff.; also in Hebrew in *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969), pp. 15ff.; Y. Aharoni, The "Nehemiah" Ostrakon from Arad, *Eretz-Israel* 12 (1975), pp. 72-76 (Heb., English summary p. 121*).

certain, and thus the letter was sent by two people, Gemaryahu and Eshiyahu.³ The opening *שלום*, relating grammatically to only the first name, includes actually both of the senders.⁴

Line 2. *שלום שלום* "greet" (Du.: "send concerning the welfare of...") — a certain completion, according to Inscriptions 15 and 21. The completion *שלום* (or *שלח*) "send" in the plural is likely also because of the amount of space available for the word. Otherwise, a space the width of one or two letters would stand empty at the end of line 2. This completion adds weight to our proposal that the letter was written by two people.

Line 3. Malkiyahu — This popular name has already appeared in two previous ostraca (Inscriptions 24:13; 39:2).

I have blessed you to the Lord — This completion, too, is certain by comparison with Inscriptions 16 and 21.⁵ Unfortunately, the number of the sherd basket was written in India ink on this piece of the ostrakon when it was still wet — the writer not having noticed the traces of the ancient script which were obscured in the wet background of the dark sherd. It was impossible to erase the India ink without harming the script underneath; after it was erased, dark spots were left which coalesced with the writing in the photograph. However, the remains of the letters under the ink can be read without doubt. The writer again uses the singular (*ברכתי*) instead of the plural (*ברכתו*), and singular and plural are interchanged carelessly throughout the remainder of the epistle.

Line 4. After the end of the opening "and now", the first two letters are clear: *he* and *tet*. The next letter is mostly rubbed out, but a *he* is one of the possibilities. Following, one letter is completely erased. The next three letters are faded, but the reading *bet*, *dalet*, and *kaph* are nearly certain. Thus the completion "your servant" seems likely. At the end of the line, the letter *he* is clear, and before it there is room for two letters. From the second of these two letters, a descending line suitable for a *bet* is preserved. For the formula *הטה לבה*, meaning "to pay attention, to listen, to be obedient", cf. *להטות לבבנו אליו* "that he may incline our hearts unto Him" (1 Kgs 8:58). In the Bible, the formula *אזן און* "to incline the ear" is more usual, but there is no room for three letters between *עבדך* and the letter *he*.

Lines 5-6. In these two lines, the formula *אל אשר אמר*... *אני* was preserved.⁶ In the missing portion, there is room for seven or eight letters. The *yod* at the end of line 5 leads us to suppose that we have here a verb in the past tense, first person. It is clear that the subject of this epistle is the transfer of information, an attempt to read a letter, and the inability to send certain things. Thus the completion "and I wrote" seems likely. Between this word and the previous two letters *אם* there is space for two or three signs, giving us the word *אמרת* "you said", meaning "you commanded".⁷

Line 6. The letters [...] *זה האיש* are clear. The continuation is effaced. The vocable, *האיש*, with *please* writing, appears also on Lachish Letter No. 3, lines 9-10. Thus, we have another example of the use of an internal *mater lectionis*.⁸ It must be assumed that a verb form preceded this vocable; so the restoration, *האיש*, is probable. Thus the following sentence, more or less, seems to be intended:

"And now: Your servant has listened to what you said, and I have written to my lord everything that the man wanted."

Gemaryahu stressed his loyalty to the instructions from Arad, perhaps after receiving a reprimand. He informed Malkiyahu of everything that a certain man staying with him had told him. It would appear that this man's intentions were displeasing to Malkiyahu.

Line 8. In the preliminary publication, I read *אך* *אך*, without noticing that there is a word divider between the *aleph* and the *mem*, since it looked like the continuation of the horizontal upper line of the *aleph*.⁹ Thus we must read *מאתך* "from you", and the first *aleph* is the last letter of the previous word. Afterwards the word *ואיש* is clear. Between the *aleph* and the *yod* there is a large space because of a grit in the clay, and there is no room for another letter. After the *yod*, the slanted line of the *shin* is clear, and does not suit another letter.

The word *מאתך* "from you" thus ends the sentence, and we suggest the completion *בא מאתך*. Beforehand, there is room for about six letters, where there should have been a man's name: "and so-and-so came from you". Since Gemaryahu announces later on in the letter that a man by the name of Eshiyahu came to him, it is possible that the same man is meant here, and thus we have completed "and Eshiyahu came from you".

From the next sentence, we have only the beginning and the end: *ואיש*... *הם*. Between them is space for about six or seven letters. Since the word *איש* comes here without the definite article *ה*, the formula *ואיש לא* "and no one" seems likely. Then a verb is called for expressing what was not done. Apparently *ואיש לא נהל להם* was meant, judging by the ensuing context.

Line 9. The words *והן ידעתה* "and behold, you knew" are clear. The verb *ידעתה* with a final *he* also appears in the Lachish letters (2:6; 3:8). Cf. also *כתבתה* "you wrote" (Arad 7:6) and *הן עשה אדני* "Behold my lord has done..." (Arad 21:3).

At the end of the line, 6 or 7 letters are missing, as usual.

Line 10. The first word is clear: *אדם*, meaning the land of Edom. Edom was already mentioned in Inscription 24, from Stratum VI, but the difference in time proves that there was no connection between the two letters. The citadel of Arad governed the road to Edom and the border with this kingdom; thus it is no wonder that Edom is mentioned in several letters.¹⁰

The last legible word in this line is not *לארבע*, as I first thought, but *לאדני* "to my lord", as in line 6. The descending line of the *dalet* is fairly long in several

examples in this ostrakon, and cf. its appearance in the word *ידעתה* in the previous line. As to the top of the *nun*, I was led astray by a black smudge which gave it the appearance of a *bet*. Accordingly, the previous word has to be corrected, too. It appears that the first letter is *nun* and not *mem*. The upper vertical stroke is slightly rounded, making it look like a *mem*. In the last letter, there is a descending line fitting either a *kaf*, a *mem*, or a *nun*. Choosing the *mem* as most appropriate, we get the word *נתתם*, "I gave them".

What is thus meant is that certain things from Edom were given by Gemaryahu to his master, Malkiyahu.

Line 11. This line opens with the letters *דרים*. Already in the preliminary publication, I weighed the possibility of completing here *בסרם ירד* "before the end of the day", but rejected it because of the reading "Edom" in line 10. However, with the reading *לאדני* "to my master", this completion seems the most likely one, and fits well the space left by the missing piece of sherd. This gives us the following sentence:

"And behold you knew about ... from Edom, (that) I gave them to my master before sunset."

We cannot, of course, know what it was that came from Edom and was given on the same day to Malkiyahu. Since afterwards Gemaryahu writes about a letter and about the impossibility of sending certain things because of the Edomites, it seems that here, too, letters from Edom are being discussed. Thus the empty space should be filled with the *המכתבם* "the epistles" or perhaps the *הספרים* "the letters", and cf. Lachish, letter 5, lines 6-7.

This version is strengthened by the continuation, where someone who apparently slept at Gemaryahu's house is discussed. Only *איש* was preserved of his name, but the completion "Eshiyahu" seems certain. This is a name in widespread usage, which has already appeared as the father of Eliashib (Inscription 17:3) as well as in Inscription 35:2, and it also appears in one of

the ostraca from Stratum VIII (Inscription 51). Since Eshiyahu no doubt slept at Gemaryahu's house, it is possible to complete *בביתי* "at my house", and cf. this word in Inscriptions 17:2 and 16:4.

Line 12. The words *ואם ... בקש* "And he asked for..." are clear, but even the middle word *המכתב* "the letter" is clear enough on comparison of the different photographs. This sentence ends only at the beginning of line 13, with the letter *yod*. If Gemaryahu writes that Eshiyahu asked for the letter, it means that he didn't give it. Thus it is possible to complete *ואם נחתי* "and I didn't give it", giving:

"And Eshiyahu slept at my house and he asked for the letter, but I didn't give it."

Letter — a royal (or divine) command, in writing (2 Chr 21:12; 35:4; Ezra 1:1).¹¹

Line 13. There is no doubt as to the reading "the King of Judah"; only the *kaf* is unclear and the last *he* is missing. The reading "Malkiyahu" is impossible here because of the emphasized space between the *kaf* and the *yod*, where there is apparently a word divider. The reading *ידע מלכיהו* doesn't seem possible; we would expect either *ידעתה* "you knew" or *ידע אדני* "my lord knew".

Line 14. We cannot send the ... — The reading of this line is certain.¹² In biblical language, we would have expected to read *ולא נוכל לשלוח* i.e. the verb in the present-future tense rather than the participle, but there is no doubt as to the reading. Here is evidence, then, that such language was used already in the late monarchical period.¹³

There is, of course, no way of knowing what Gemaryahu and his men wanted to send and could not.

Line 15. The first words are certain: *את הרעה אשר*... "the evil which...". Since at the end of line 14 there is space



The room with industrial installation (Locus 429) where Inscription 40 was found.

for no more than 5 or 6 letters, at least three of which spell the thing which couldn't be sent, that leaves room for no more than one or two additional letters. Thus the completion ... [חזקת ערס] seems likely. From the word "Edom", only the *aleph* is certain, and there are remains of a second letter which suit a *dalet*. Earlier, Edom was mentioned, and thus it seems a likely completion here.

There is no certainty that this was the last line of the letter. However, it seems possible, as it finishes in a straight line, and there are no traces of script on the reverse of the sherd.

Even though not all of the completions enjoy the same degree of certainty, the contents of the letter are clear on the whole. Gemaryahu and Nehemyahu assert that they are obedient to their superior, Malkiyahu, the commander of Arad at this time. It appears that Gemaryahu is the commander of one of the fortresses to the south of Arad, perhaps Ramat-Negev mentioned in Inscription 24 as the first station on the border with Edom.

The writer emphasizes his fidelity and his strict adherence to the orders he received. In a previous letter, he had already informed Malkiyahu of what a certain man wanted of him. He points out that he sent the letters (?) to Malkiyahu on the same day that he received them from Edom. These letters probably contained threats or unpleasant information. He tells him that Eshiyahu (the same person who came to him from Arad?) slept at his house and asked to see the letter, but was refused — probably according to instructions from Malkiyahu. Finally, he requested that the King of Judah be told that they cannot send the requested article because of some evil that Edom effected.

This ostrakon belongs to Stratum VIII, and if our chronology is correct, then the King of Judah mentioned is Hezekiah. [If that be the case, then perhaps the evil done by Edom was their early capitulation to Sennacherib on the eve of the latter's campaign against Judah and Philistia. AFR]

1. Vid. *IEJ* 14 (1964), p. 136, Pl. 33a; also in Hebrew in *Yadot* 27 (1964), p. 223, Pl. 3.1. In the beginning, we thought that this locus belonged to Stratum VII, but as we continued the excavations it

turned out to be from Stratum VIII. In Stratum VI there was an open courtyard in this area in which no material remains were discovered. It was difficult to discern the floor of this courtyard, thus we mistakenly defined the upper two Israelite strata as VI and VII instead of VII and VIII. The mistake was discovered only after this area was connected to the rest of the citadel area. In addition, a precise examination of the ceramic material from this room proved that Locus 429 belonged to Stratum VIII. Strata VIII-IX and Strata VI-VII respectively are close to one another in time, and it is difficult to see differences in their pottery. By contrast, there is a great difference between the pottery of Stratum VII and that of Stratum VIII, which became clear later on in the excavations.

2. In the preliminary publication, I read by mistake אמריהו "Amaryahu". This mistake was corrected by Lemaire, *vid. Ostraca*, p. 370.
3. I weighed carefully the reading: גמריהו בן נחמיהו "Gemaryahu son of Nehemyahu" — but am convinced that it is impossible. True, the *waw* is partially obliterated, and in the beginning I tended to read it as *yod* (*Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Vol. 1 (1967), p. 12 [Heb., English summary p. 251]). But the remaining strokes fit a *waw* better, and in any case a reading of *nun* is impossible.
4. According to Weippert's suggestion, *Edom*, p. 380.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 380f.
6. In the preliminary publication, I read אמל. Even though the second letter looks like a *tau*, when examined precisely it is doubtful. The line descending from left to right appears to continue downwards, and the direction of this line is more horizontal than in the rest of the *taus* in this ostrakon. Since the top of a well-formed *mem* sometimes reminds one of a *tau*, it seems that this is a better alternative. "... אל אשר אמל" is also difficult textually. Previously, I also read אדני instead of אדני in line 6, but additional photographs convinced me that the reading אדני is preferable.
7. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, p. 64.
8. Cross-Freedman, *Orthography*, p. 54.
9. *Vid. Lemaire, Ostraca*, p. 372.
10. By coincidence, the name Malkiyahu also appears in Inscription 24, but there it is the name of an officer sent in order to take men from Arad, and in this ostrakon Malkiyahu is the commander of Arad. The identity of names is no basis for Lemaire's dating of this ostrakon to Stratum VII (*Ostraca*, pp. 375ff.). Many names reappear in different strata, and there is no valid comparison with the appearance of Eliashib son of Eshiyahu in two strata, when both the father's name and the office are identical.
11. Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 423; Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, p. 523.
12. In the facsimile of the preliminary publication, I wrote אל instead of אמל, but I was led astray by the long *dalet* above the *tau*.
13. And *vid. Weippert, Edom*, p. 382.

Inscription 41

...yah|ju (seah)
...el
...yah|u|
...yahu
...yah|hu (seah)

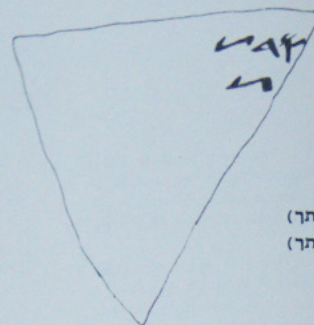
The ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VIII near the western wall. It contains faded remains of 7 lines of script, and originally contained at least 9 lines. Only a few letters on the right-hand side are clear; the rest is illegible.

The few remains show that this was a list of names with the addition of signs. After two of the names, a sign appears which is similar to the one in Inscription 33:1,6, which we interpreted as the sign for the *seah*.



- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. יהו (סאה) | 2. אל |
| 3. יהו | 4. יהו |
| 5. ק | 6. יהו (סאה) |
| 7. יהו | |

Inscription 42



1. גור (מי)גור (לתר)
2. (לתר)

[From Ya]gur (lethech)
(lethech)

The ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VIII near the western wall.

The ostrakon contained a list of names, followed by signs. The same sign appears in other ostraca, too (Inscriptions 18:5; 31:2-8; 33:3; 83:3), and *vid.* Inscription 18:5 and 31; we interpreted it there as the lethech measure (5 ephahs).

Of the names, only the end of the first name is

preserved: גור.... If it is a personal name, the only possible completion is אגור "Agur", a name appearing in the Bible in Proverbs 30:1, and known also from the Elephantine inscriptions.¹ Since this is an unusual name, it is more likely that יגור "Yagur" should be completed, a place name mentioned in Joshua 15:21, between Arad and Kinah.² Its nearness to Arad and Kinah, mentioned in Inscription 24:11, gives this proposal weight. Possibly this ostrakon was similar to Inscription 25, which contained a list of consignments meant for different places.

1. *Enc. bibl.* I, col. 77 (Heb.).

2. *Enc. bibl.* III, cols. 462-463 (Heb.).

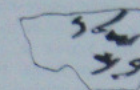
Inscription 43



1. ת
2.
3. ו שב
4.
5.
6. ל

The ostrakon was found in the southwestern wing of the storehouse from Stratum VIII. From faded remains of at least six lines of script, only single letters are legible.

Inscription 44

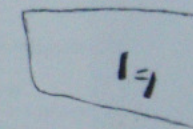


1. שלם
2. בב

The ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VIII, near the western wall, together with Inscriptions 41 and 42. On this small sherd it is possible to make out remains of two lines of script.

The only clear word is שלם in line 1, but it is impossible to know if the personal name Shallum was meant (*vid.* Inscription 35:3), or the word which can mean either "whole" or the verb "to pay".

Inscription 45



The ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VIII near the southern wall, under the house of Eliashib. On this small sherd, remains of only one line of script are discernible, and only one letter is legible: *het*.

Inscription 46

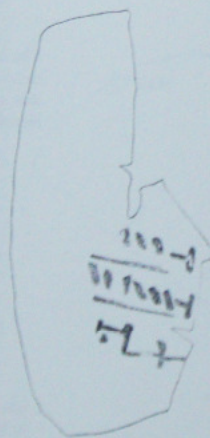
(homer) 3
(homer) 6
(signs)

The ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VIII, near the western wall together with Inscriptions 41, 42, and 44, and it contains three lines with signs.

It appears that the end of the lines was preserved, since they do not end in a straight line, as would be the case if we had the beginning of the lines before us.

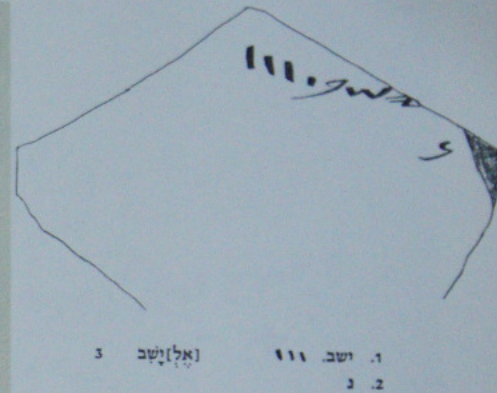
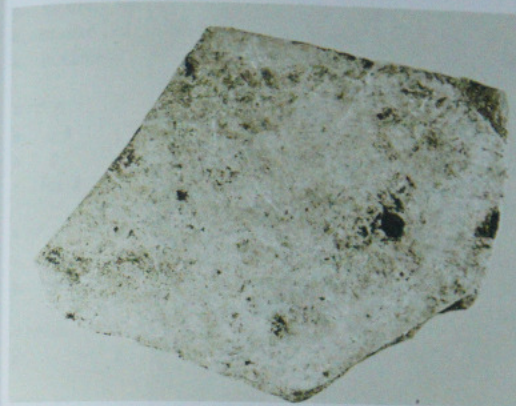
The first two lines commence with the sign similar to that in Inscription 1:7 and 18:6, which we interpreted as the homer measure. But here it faces in the opposite direction, so it is not certain that the same measure was meant. In line 1 there is the number 3, and in line 2 the number 6, written unusually with six strokes. Each of the numbers is underlined; it seems that this line was used to separate the lines of script. There is no basis for supposing that 300 and 600 were meant; in the hieratic numbers, a long slanted line was used for this purpose (and cf. Inscription 2:4), and the 600 was written differently.

The signs in the third line are unknown.



1. 4-4-4
2. 4-4-4-4-4-4
3. סימנים
(חמר) 3
(חמר) 6

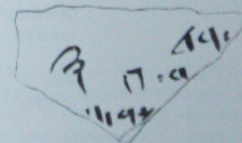
Inscription 47



[E]liashib 3

The ostrakon was found in the eastern edge of the courtyard of the sanctuary, above the floor level of Stratum VIII.

Faded traces of two lines of script are preserved. At the end of the first line, the end of the ubiquitous name Eliashib (vid. Inscription 1:1) can be read, and after it the number 3. At the beginning of the second line, only the letter nun is decipherable.



1. ערר
2. ר.ה.ס
3. כר וו
ערר
6 [כ]ס[ח]
3 [ז]קר

Inscription 48

Arad
... r 6 [si]v[er]
[Za]kkur

This small ostrakon was found on the slopes outside the northern wall. It belongs to Stratum VIII, according to the script.

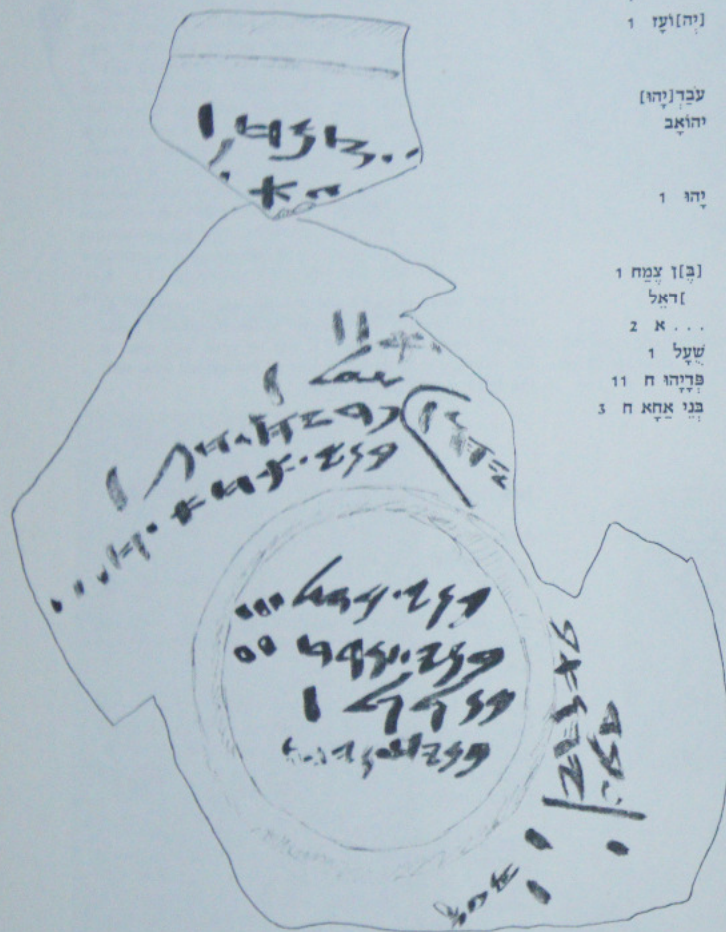
Line 1. The letters *resh* and *dalet* are clear, and before them it is possible to complete the 'ayin. Thus it appears that the name Arad appeared at the beginning of the ostrakon: the city's name also appears in Inscription 24:12 and 99.

Line 2. The first letter *resh* is perhaps the end of a personal name. The number 6 apparently follows, and at the end of the line the letter *samek* is clear. We completed 6 כסף "6 silver", and cf. Inscriptions 16:5,8; 24:5, and 29:6.

Line 3. The letters *kaf* and *resh* are clear, and the number 3. As to the name Zakkur, vid. Inscription 38:6.

It appears that this ostrakon listed the apportionment of money (silver) to various people. Perhaps these were salaried workers serving at Arad, according to the "title" at the beginning of the ostrakon.

Inscription 49



בני קצל 3
בני קרח 2
בן גלגל 1
בני קניחו

1
1
1 (יה)ועז

עבד (יהו)
יהואב

יהו 1

1 [ב] צמח

[דאל

2 א . . .

שעל 1

פדיהו ח 11

בני אחא ח 3

על הכיס
בני בעל 3
בני קרח 2
בן גלגל 1
בני קניחו

טור א'
1
1
1 ועז

טור ב'
עבד
יהואב

טור ג'
1 יהו . . . 10

טור ד'
1 נצמח
דאל

13 א . . .

14 שעל

15 פדיהו ח

16 בני אחא ח

On the base:
Sons of Bešal 3
Sons of Korah 2
Son of Gilgal 1
Sons of Koniya

Row 1:
1
1
Yeho'az 1

Row 2:
Obadyahu
Yeho'ab

Row 3:
...yahu 1

Row 4:
S[on] of Šemah 1
...del
...a 2
Shu'al 1
Pedayahu H 11
Sons of Aha H 3



The pieces of this ostrakon are parts of a bowl, from the rim to the base, burnished on the potters' wheel. They were found in the building next to the entrance to the sanctuary from Stratum VIII, most of them in one room (Locus 1010), and the piece of rim was found in the neighboring locus (Locus 786, excavated in the previous season). Rows of names and numbers were written on the bowl.

The inscription on the inside of the bowl left only faint traces, which are undecipherable. On the outside, four

lines were written on the base, and the script is crowded on the sides of the bowl. There are lines separating the sections of writing.

We counted the lines beginning from the base, and afterwards according to rows from right to left. In the main, the bottom parts of the rows were preserved, while the upper were more faded, aside from the piece of rim.

Since we have here a large part of the bowl, and the writing on the sides was done always with the base down, it appears that originally the whole bowl was written on.

Another peculiarity of this inscription is that a large number of the names begin with "sons of", and two with "son of", but there are also simple names next to them.

Sons of Bešal — It appears that this is a shortened form of the biblical name Bezael, and cf. also Bazluth.¹ Apart from Bezael of the tribe of Judah, the artificer of the Tabernacle, one of the sons of this name (Ezra 10:30), post-exilic period was called by this name (Ezra 10:30). The children of Bazluth (or Bazlithi) appear in the list of returnees from the diaspora in the time of Zerubabel (Ezra 2:52; Neh 7:54).

Sons of Korah — This is a well-known Levitic family whose sons were among the poets of the Temple (1 Chr 6:22; 2 Chr 20:19); eleven psalms are attributed to the family (Ps 42, 44-49, 84-85, 87-88). Korah is also the name of one of the prominent families of Hebron (1 Chr 2:43). Five members of this family joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:7).

Sons of Gilgal — Gilgal is the name of a holy place, apparently named after a mound (גל) or circle of stones. The place known by this name was in the neighborhood of Jericho; aside from the biblical passage where the origin of the name is explained (Josh 5:9), it is always called Haggilgal, with the definite article. Possibly there were other places with the same name, all in northern Israel, aside from "the" Gilgal on the border of Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:7).² However, in the parallel section in Joshua 18:17, the name Geliloth appears instead.

Thus it would appear that "Son of Gilgal" would be an inhabitant of Haggilgal, apparently the famous place of that name near Jericho.

Sons of Koniya — this is one of the forms of the name Jehoiachin (Jer 22:24-25; 37:1).³ The name also appears in the Lachish letters (3:15).⁴

Yeho'az — The name also appears in Inscription 31:3.

Obadyahu — *vid.* Inscription 10:4.

Yeho'ab — This name is also found in Inscription 39:10.

Semaḥ — *cf.* The words about Joshua the son of Jehozadak the high priest: הנה האיש צמח שמו "Behold a

man whose name is the Shoot" (Zech 6:12).⁵ In the next line, the letters שח are preserved, probably the latter part of a name ending in "-el", such as 'el or p'el.

Shu'al — The writing of the shin is clumsy, perhaps because it was written on a large round bowl, but only this letter is possible. The name is also known from Inscription 38:2.

Pedayahu — a common biblical name (Pedaiah), appearing also in Hebrew seals.⁶

Sons of Aḥa — a diminutive of the name Ahiyah (Ahijah), appearing in this form also in the Samaria ostraca⁷ and on a Hebrew seal.⁸

After the last two names, the letter *het* appears, and after it a number. This letter must be an abbreviation, for which we offer two possible explanations:

1. Wheat (חטן), a commodity mentioned in many of the ostraca;
2. Since this ostrakon is apparently connected with the sanctuary (*vid.* below), perhaps חטת, a sin-offering, is meant.

This ostrakon was found in one of the rooms near the sanctuary, and it appears to be connected with the sanctuary by virtue of its contents, too. Most of the names listed on this bowl are family names beginning with "sons of", and another name, Son of Gilgal, appears to designate an inhabitant of that town which is the home of a well-known sanctuary. One may conjecture that this is a list of contributions to the sanctuary. The letter *het* adds weight to this hypothesis, whether interpreted as wheat or as a sin-offering.

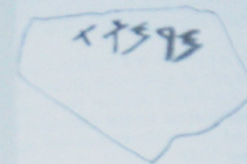
We get the impression that some of the names are not regular personal names, but names connected to the priesthood — such as Bešal, Horaḥ, Gilgal, and Semaḥ.

1. *Enc. bibl.* II, cols. 305-306 (Heb.).
2. *Ibid.*, cols. 487-490.
3. *Ibid.*, III, cols. 522-526.
4. *Lachish III*, p. 332; Gibson, *Textbook I*, pp. 38, 40.
5. For the meaning of the word, *vid.* *Enc. bibl.* VI, cols. 739-740 (Heb.).
6. *Ibid.*, cols. 437-438; Vattioni, *Sigilli* 45, 235.
7. Döringer, *Iscrizioni*, p. 41.
8. Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 121.

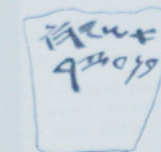




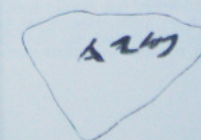
To Inscription 49; photograph and cross-sectional drawing of the bowl.



מרמות מרמות



1. אשיהו
2. בן עזר



פשיד

Inscription 50*

This ostrakon was found in the sanctuary, in a room from Stratum VIII near the Holy of Holies. Only one name is written on the sherd: Meremoi.

Meremoi is the name of a well-known priestly family (Meremoth) from the post-exilic period.¹ The pene writing with the *uaw* appears to indicate that this was a diphthong, and that the name contains the theophorous base *Mōi*, and cf. מרימל Meribaal and מרימל Mar'el.²

For the discussion, *vid.* the summary of Inscriptions 50–57.

* Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni, *Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple*, BA 31 (1968), p. 11; Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Ostraca from Arad*, *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Vol. 1 (1969), p. 13 (Heb., English summary p. 251).

1. *Enc. bibl.* V, col. 475 (Heb.).

2. Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 194.

Inscription 51

This ostrakon, too, was found in the sanctuary, in a room near the Holy of Holies.

Only two names are written on it:

Eshiyahu
Son of 'Ezer

Eshiyahu — this name has been noted previously in Inscriptions 17:3; 35:2; and 40:11.

'Ezer — a name known from the Bible¹ and from Hebrew seals;² it is a shortened form of the name 'Azaryahu (Azariah).

For the discussion, *vid.* the summary for Inscriptions 50–57.

1. *Enc. bibl.* VI, col. 137 (Heb.).

2. Döringer, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 120, 205f.; Moscati, *L'epigrafi*, pp. 72, 74; Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 47.

Inscription 52

This ostrakon, too, was found in the sanctuary, in a room near the Holy of Holies.

Only one name was written on the sherd: פשיד, a hitherto unknown name. The *shin* was written clumsily, but there seems to be no alternative reading.¹

For discussion, *vid.* the summary for Inscriptions 50–57.

[1. Lemaire, *JH*, p. 212, makes the very plausible suggestion to read the first sign as *šade*, thus *šyd* for *šayyād*, a hitherto unattested name. AFR]



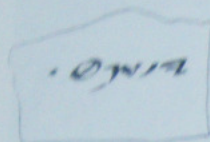
Inscription 53

This ostracron was found in a building near the entrance to the sanctuary together with Inscription 49.

Only one name is written on the sherd: יִשְׁפָּת Yishpat, a hitherto unknown name. It appears that this is a variant of the name שְׁפַתְיָהוּ Shephat'iyahu (an abbreviation of Shephat'iyahu) — to which it is related in Yiprah in to Pethiyahu.¹ (However, this name is most likely a defective writing of Yōšāpāt [Joshaphat] shortened from Yōšāpāt; a good priestly name [1 Chron 15:24]. AFR)

For the discussion, vid. the summary for Inscriptions 50–57.

¹ Noth (Personennamen, p. 246) considers the possibility that יִשְׁפָּת Ishpat and יִשְׁפָּת Ishpat are "Kurzformen zu Imperfektbildungen mit יִשְׁפָּת".



Inscription 54

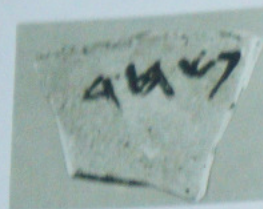
This ostracron was found on the outside slope to the west of the sanctuary. According to the script, and after comparison with the previous ostraca, it belongs to Stratum VIII.

Only one name was written on the sherd: פִּשְׁחִיר Pashhur.

At first sight, the shin appears to be written with one v and a central line, like the Aramaic shin. Actually, it is written with two v's, the right line being very close to the left line.

Pashhur is the name of a well known priestly family,¹ and possibly of Egyptian origin.²

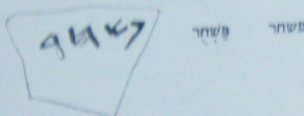
For discussion, vid. the summary for Inscriptions 50–57.



¹ Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni, *Arad, Its Inscriptions and Temple*, 84:3 (1968), p. 11.

² *Enc. bibl.* VI, cols. 633–635 (Heb.); and vid. Vattioni, *Sigilli*, 148, 152.

³ S. Ahuv, *Pashhur*, *IEJ* 20 (1970), pp. 95f.



Inscription 55

The ostracron was found on the slope to the west of the sanctuary. According to its script and in comparison with the previous ostraca, it belongs to Stratum VIII.

The ostracron contains two rows of writing:

Son of Hemda

י

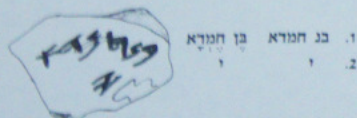
It appears that the name Hemda is a diminutive of Hemdiyahu, a name appearing in the Elephantine inscriptions.¹ As in Inscription 47, the element "son of" appears before the name, meaning that this is a family name.

Underneath the name is the letter *yod*, before which is an effaced letter which is difficult to interpret.² We can offer no explanation for this *yod*, especially as it has no parallel in the other ostraca.

For discussion, vid. the summary for Inscriptions 50–57.

¹ Jean-Hofijzer, *Dictionnaire*, p. 90; and cf. in the Bible Hamdan, *Enc. bibl.* III, col. 164 (Heb.).

² I reckoned with the possibility that this is an obliterated shin, and that *sh* "present" should be read. This word is known from Ugaritic (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, p. 502, No. 2666) and appears in the Protocanaanite consecration inscriptions from Lachish (F. M. Cross, *EJ* 8 [1967], p. 16). However, if this was the purpose of these ostraca, we would expect to find this word in the other inscriptions, too. Lemaire's suggestion (*Ostraca*, pp. 384f.; *JH*, p. 213) to read here *שדי* "Padi" is also doubtful.



1. בן חמדה
2. י

Inscription 56



1. נְתַנְיָהוּ Netanyahu
2. בֶּן נְתַנְיָהוּ Ben Netanyahu

The ostracron was found on the slope to the west of the sanctuary. According to the script, and in comparison to the other ostraca, it belongs to Stratum VIII.

Only one name is recorded on the sherd, written in two lines:

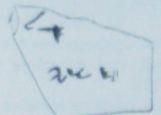
Son of
Netanyahu

Netanyahu is a popular biblical name (Nethaniah),¹ known also from Hebrew seals.² This name, too, is preceded by "son of".

For the discussion, vid. the summary for Inscriptions 50–57.

¹ *Enc. bibl.* V, col. 988 (Heb.).
² Döringer, *Jerusalem*, pp. 191f.

Inscription 57



1. אֶל El
2. חֲשִׁי Hushai

The ostracron was found on the slope to the west of the sanctuary. According to the script, and in comparison to the other ostraca, it belongs to Stratum VIII.

The ostracron contains two lines of script:

[...]el
[Son of] Hushai

In the first line, there is a name ending in "el". Before it there are remains of four blurred letters.

In the second line, there is apparently the name Hushai. This name is only known from the time of King David,¹ and here it appears as a family name. Before it, there is space for the letters *bet* and *nun*, but it is impossible to discern any clear lines.

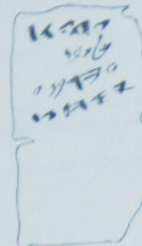
It appears that all eight ostraca are whole, and each contained only one man's name. Only two of them bear a personal name along with the patronymic (Eshiyahu son of 'Ezer; ...el son of Hushai). Two have hitherto unknown names (יִשְׁפָּת, and possibly יִשְׁפָּת), and the first of these is especially strange. Two others bear one name with the preceding "son of" (son of Hemda; son of Netanyahu). The usual explanation for this is that the man named is the bearer of an office held by and inherited from within a particular family; similar examples were found at Ugarit.²

These "notes" would seem to be lots cast for the priestly duties in the sanctuary.³ It is no coincidence that two Cohanite families (Meremot and Pashhur), known from the Bible, are named in these ostraca; the Pashhur family is also named in the Baraita of the 24 priestly orders.⁴

Ostraca 50–57 comprise a special group, apparently having a common function. Their placement points to a connection with the sanctuary: Three were found in the room beside the Holy of Holies (50–52), one in a room next to the entrance to the sanctuary (53), and the rest come from the western slope just outside the sanctuary.

¹ *Vid. Enc. bibl.* III, col. 64–65.
² *Vid. A. Alt, Menschen ohne Namen, Archiv Orientalni* 18 (1950), pp. 9–24 (repr. *Kleine Schriften* III, pp. 198–215).
³ *The Fourth World Congress for Jewish Studies*, vol. 1 (1967), p. 15 (Heb., English summary p. 251).
⁴ S. Klein, ed. *Sefer Hayyishuv* I, Jerusalem, 1959, p. 163; *Enc. bibl.* V, cols. 569–580.

Inscription 58



- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| עֲדָיָהוּ | 1. עֲדָיָהוּ |
| כְּלֹב בֶּן ... | 2. כְּלֹב בֶּן |
| עֶזֶר בֶּן ... | 3. עֶזֶר בֶּן |
| יֶאֱחָשׁ | 4. יֶאֱחָשׁ |

'Adayahu
Kelub son of...
'Ezer son of...
Ya'ahas

The ostrakon was found on the western slope outside the wall, and according to its script, it belongs to Stratum VIII.

It contains remains of eight lines of script, but only the first four are partly legible.

Line 1. 'Adayahu — a popular biblical name (Adaiah),¹ known also from Hebrew seals.²

Line 2. Kelub — The name Kaleb, written the same way, appears in the Bible only as the name of the large Judahite family and its eponym.³ Thus possibly here the name Kelub is meant, a biblical name (chelub) appearing among the sons of Judah (1 Chr 4:11) and in the time of David (1 Chr 27:26).⁴

Line 3. 'Ezer — This name is also known from Inscription 51:2.

Line 4. Ya'ahas — One might think this is a variant of the popular name אחז Ahaz, אחזיהו Ahazyahu,⁵ however the spelling with *šade* instead of *zayin* makes this unlikely.

This ostrakon is a list of names alone, some of them with the patronymic.

1. *Enc. bibl.* VI, cols. 91–92 (Heb.).

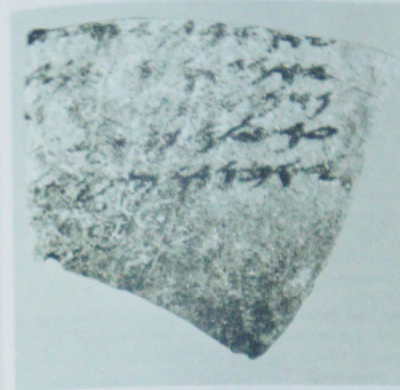
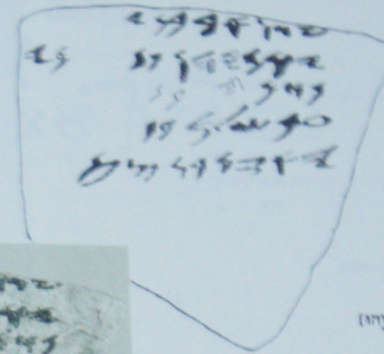
2. Moscati, *L'epigrafi*, pp. 61, 63.

3. *Enc. bibl.* VI, cols. 106–110 (Heb.).

4. *Ibid.*, col. 113.

5. *Ibid.* I, cols. 206–209.

Inscription 59



- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| יְהוֹאָב בֶּן | 1. יְהוֹאָב בֶּן |
| יְקָמְיָהוּ בֶן | 2. יְקָמְיָהוּ בֶן |
| נְהֵמְיָהוּ בֶן | 3. נְהֵמְיָהוּ בֶן |
| עֲמִישָׁלֵם בֶּן | 4. עֲמִישָׁלֵם בֶּן |
| יֶאֱזָן בֶּן | 5. יֶאֱזָן בֶּן |

Yeho'ab son of...
Yekanyahu son of...
Nehemyahu son of...
'Amishalem son of...
Ya'azan son of Sepan[yahu]

The ostrakon was found in the storehouse, and is apparently from Stratum IX. It is complete on the right side, but is broken above and on the left. Thus only the lower right-hand portion of a list of personal names has been preserved, all of them with the patronymic.

Line 1. Yeho'ab — For this name, *vid.* Inscription 39:10.

Line 2. Yekanyahu — For this name, *vid.* Inscription 39:1.

Line 3. Nehemyahu — For this name, *vid.* Inscription 31:3.

Line 4. 'Amishalem — a hitherto unknown name, similar to names such as 'Aminadab and Shelemyahu (Shelemiah).

Line 5. Ya'azan — a shortened form of the name Ya'azanyahu, and *vid.* Inscription 39:9.

Sepanyahu (Zephaniah) — The last letters are erased, but since there are traces, it appears that the name Sepanyahu¹ is intended, rather than Šapan (Zaphan).

1. *Enc. bibl.* VI, col. 753ff. (Heb.).

Inscription 60

...
...
...
...
...
...
...

...
...
...
...
...
...
...



As all ... I took (or weighed) 2+25 hekats.
Shebanyahu 1
Mikneyahu, give to Gab-

The Reverse
(-riyahu) 6.

The ostracon was found in a building from Stratum IX between the storehouse and the sanctuary. It contains five lines of script on the obverse, and an additional line on the reverse.

Lines 1-2. Even though the letters are clear, it is difficult to understand what is meant. It appears that the first word is "as all, each", but the four strokes after it (the number 4?) are unintelligible, and perhaps an unknown abbreviation is indicated which also includes the following *he*.

It appears that the ostracon is whole, and the last two letters of line 1 should be attached to the first letters of line 2, giving the verb "I loaded" or "I weighed".² Afterwards come the sign of the *hekat*, 2 units, and the sign for 1/4,³ i.e. 25 hekats, and cf. the similar signs in the hieratic ostracon (Inscription 34).

Since the *hekat* is the grain measure, it would appear that this ostracon deals with the loading or weighing of a certain amount of wheat or barley.

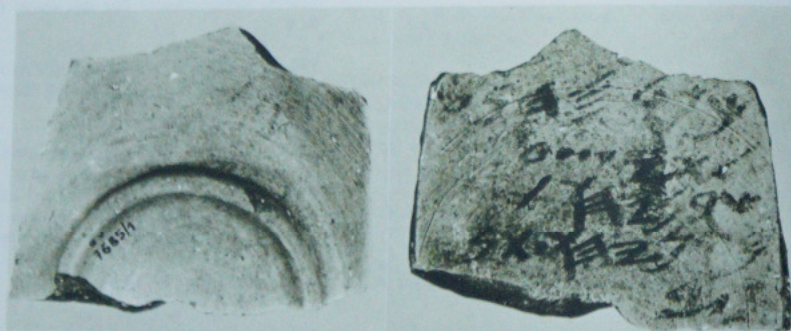
Line 3. Shebanyahu — This name is known from the Bible (Shebaniah) and is in widespread usage on Hebrew seals.⁴

Line 4. Mikneyahu — This name is known from the Bible (Mikneiah) and from Hebrew seals.⁵

Lines 5-6. The *gimel* continues into the *bet*. The end of the word is apparently written on the reverse of the sherd (line 6), where actually only the number 6 (5+1) has been preserved. The completion Gabriyahu seems likely, and cf. also Geber and Gabriel.⁶

It appears that the ostracon deals with the weighing and apportionment of grain to various people. Perhaps the writer is a clerk in the storehouse telling his friend Mikneyahu about what he has done, and leaving him instructions for further apportionment.

1. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 501; Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, p. 612.
2. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, London 1957, p. 198.
3. Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, Nos. 695, 709.
4. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, p. 942; Düringer, *Inscrizioni*, pp. 122ff., 175, 179f., 218, 223ff.; Moscati, *L'epigrafi*, pp. 60, 72f., 97; Noth, *Personennamen*, p. 21.
5. *Enc. bibl.* V, col. 360 (Heb.); F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, p. 61.
6. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* II, cols. 420-421.



Inscription 61



...
...

...
...

(They) sent ...
2 baths of wine

The ostracon was found in a room of Stratum IX near the Holy of Holies of the sanctuary. This area was very disturbed, and this small sherd belongs according to the script to Stratum VI.

The script was better preserved on the outside, and we called this side the obverse, even though it is uncertain, as is the question of whether there is a connection between the two sides of the ostracon.

On either side three lines of script were preserved.

In line 1, the word *שלח* "they sent" is clear, and in the second line we can read "2 baths of wine".

The rest consists only of single letters.

Inscription 62



...
...

...
...

Sent ...
Sen]t 2

The ostracon was found in the sanctuary, in a cell near the altar, on the level of Stratum IX. It contains remains of two lines of script.

All that remains is the word *שלח* "sent" in line 1 and the number 2 in line 2.

Inscription 63



...
...
...
...

The ostracon was found in a room near the southern wall. The locus belongs to Stratum IX, but according to the script, this small sherd comes from Stratum VI. It contains faded remains of four lines of script, of which only single letters are legible.



Inscription 64



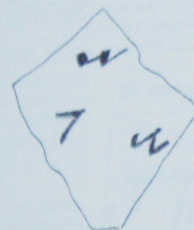
Geri
Eliashib?

The ostrakon was found in a room from Stratum VIII near the southeastern corner of the citadel.

It appears that remains of two personal names are preserved. The name Geri or Geriyahu is otherwise unknown, but it seems that the name Gera is a diminutive of this name.¹ In line 2, the name Eliashib or Elisha' is preserved, and *vid.* Inscriptions 1:1 and 24:14.

1. *Vid. Enc. Bibl.* II, cols. 549-570 (Heb.).

Inscription 65



Sh[ekels]
Sh[ekels] 5

The ostrakon was found in the entrance to the sanctuary in a locus of Stratum IX. Only three signs have been preserved. According to line 2, in which the letter *shin* and the number 2 were preserved, it is possible to theorize that the *shin* here is the abbreviation for the shekel (*cf.* above, Inscriptions 16:5).

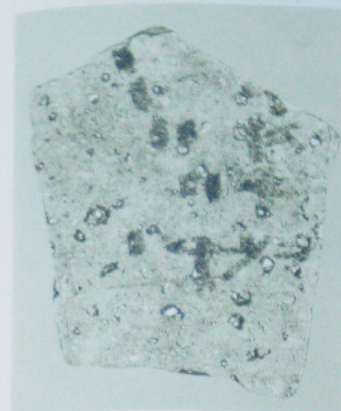
Inscription 66



1. ר [] י
2. י נ נ

The ostrakon was found in the storehouse in the level of Stratum IX. It contains traces of two lines of script with a few letters.

Inscription 67



1
1
...yahu 2
Aha 2
Zakkur 1

The ostrakon was found in a building between the storehouse and the sanctuary in a locus of Stratum X. It contains a list of personal names and numbers.

Line 2. Only the last letter of the name, *resh*, has been preserved.

Line 3. The last portion of the name, *-yahu*, was preserved.

Line 4. The letters *het* and *aleph* were preserved, and the completion Aha seems likely. As to this name, *vid.* above, Inscription 38:6.

Line 5. As to the name Zakkur, *vid.* above, Inscription 38:6.

Inscription 68

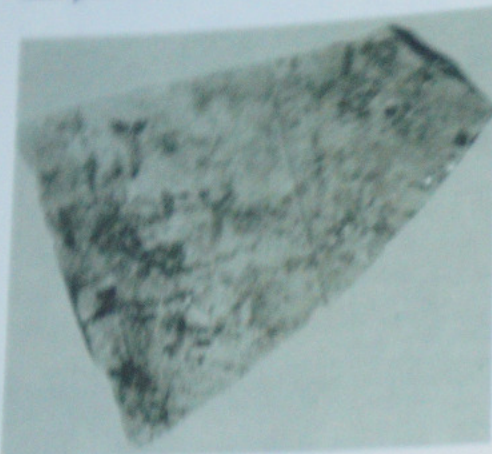
1.
2. חל.
3. רגא
4. י
5. א ש

Raga

The ostrakon was found in a building between the storehouse and the sanctuary in a locus of Stratum X. It contains remains of three lines of script on the inside, and two lines on the outside.

As to the only name legible — Raga — *vid.* above, Inscription 32:2.

Inscription 69



It appears that this was a list of names, but not one has been wholly preserved. Apparently in lines 1, 2, 3, and 4, were names which included the element "yahu".



1. יחזק
2. יחזק
3. יחזק
4. יחזק

Inscription 70



The ostrakon was found in the courtyard of the sanctuary on the level of Stratum X. It contains traces of three lines of script.

1. יחזק
2. יחזק
3. יחזק

Inscription 71



1. יחזק
2. יחזק
3. יחזק
4. יחזק
5. יחזק

...give
...which...
master Gaddiyahu

The Reverse
...son of

The ostrakon was found on the edge of a large pit in the area of the sanctuary, and probably comes from Stratum X.

Line 1. The word יח "give" is clear between two word dividers, as in Inscription 60:4.

Line 2. The word אשר "which" and after it the letter lamed are clear. Before it there are remains of a letter, possibly tav, and a word divider written as a slanted line.

Line 3. Two words have been preserved, and between them a word divider. The first letter is probably aleph, thus giving the reading אד. This may either be a noun ("master") or a personal name, a shortened form of the name אדונייהו "Adoniyahu" (Adonijah). At the end of the line, the letters gimmel, dalet, and yod are written. This is either the biblical name Gaddi or Gaddiel, or Gaddiyahu known from a Hebrew seal¹ and the Samaria ostraca (in the form גדיד Gaddiyau).²

Line 4. Only the word בן "son of" was preserved. Before it is a word divider, and before that, a name ending in aleph.

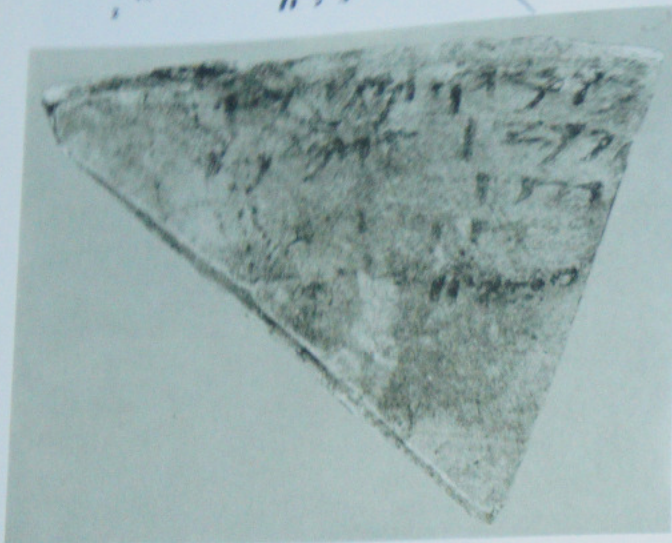
1. Enc. bibl. II, cols. 455, 457 (Heb.).

2. Moscati, L'epigrafa, p. 59.

3. Döringer, Lucrisani, p. 44.

Inscription 72

1. נאכניח	2. מנחם	3. אהמלך	4. גדה	5. עזא
1. נאכניח	2. מנחם	3. אהמלך	4. גדה	5. עזא
1. נאכניח	2. מנחם	3. אהמלך	4. גדה	5. עזא
1. נאכניח	2. מנחם	3. אהמלך	4. גדה	5. עזא
1. נאכניח	2. מנחם	3. אהמלך	4. גדה	5. עזא



Nakonyahu 2	Menahem 1
Pepi 1	Ahimelek 1
Gada 1	3
'Uzza 3	
2	

The ostrakon was found on the eastern slope, above the wall, and according to the script, it belongs to Stratum X. It contains two rows of names with numbers. It appears that the upper and right-hand edges are whole. The script is faded on the lower part, especially on the left, thus it is difficult to know if this side is complete.

Line 1. Nakonyahu — a hitherto unknown name. It appears that the name Nacon (2 Sam 6:6) is a shortened form of this name. [Lemaire, *IH*, p. 219, is probably correct in reading *naḥnyahu*, i.e. Miḥneyahu, cf. Inscription 60:4. AFR]

Menahem — in the Bible, this name is known only as

one of the kings of Israel, but it is well known from Ugaritic writings, Hebrew seals, and other inscriptions.¹

Line 2. Pepi — It would appear that this is the Egyptian name pp.y, known from the Old Kingdom up to the New Kingdom.²

Ahimelek — a common name in the Bible and other sources.³

Line 3. Gadda — a diminutive of Gaddiyahu, Gaddiel,⁴ but the reading is not certain.

Line 4. 'Uzza — This, too, is a well known name,⁵ but again the reading is uncertain.

1. *Enc. bibl.* V, cols. 30–33 (Heb.); Diringen, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 128f.; Moscati, *L'epigrafa*, pp. 55, 72, 74, 82.

2. H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, Glückstadt 1935, p. 131, no. 12.

3. *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 217–218 (Heb.).

4. *Ibid.*, II, col. 437.

5. *Ibid.*, VI, cols. 112–113.

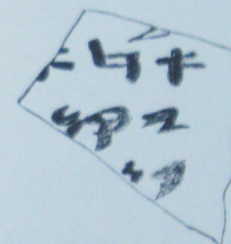
Inscription 73



1. אה
2. יח
3. יח
4. אה

The ostrakon was found on the western slope. It contains remains of four lines of script, but only single letters remained of each line.

Inscription 74



1. אה	2. אה
3. יקמ	4. יקמ
5. יקמ	6. יקמ
7. יקמ	8. יקמ

Aha
Yekamyahu
Son of

The ostrakon is unstratified. It was found in the center of the citadel, before the entrance to the sanctuary, during a cleaning-up of walls and trenches, when the excavation reached the level of Stratum XI. It appears that the ostrakon contains a list of names.

Line 1. Aha — For this name, *vid.* Inscription 49:13.

Line 2. Yekamyahu — This is a likely completion of the name, the form of which is discussed in Inscription 39:1.

Line 3. It appears that this name starts with יק, and *vid.* above, Inscriptions 55–56.

Inscription 75



- .1
- .2
- .3

The ostrakon is unstratified. It was found in the area of the storehouse, on a level with Stratum X. It contains a few traces of three lines of script.

Inscription 76

Son of...
Son of... *hekat* 10
Son of... 100 *hekat*

[*hekat*] 2[0]

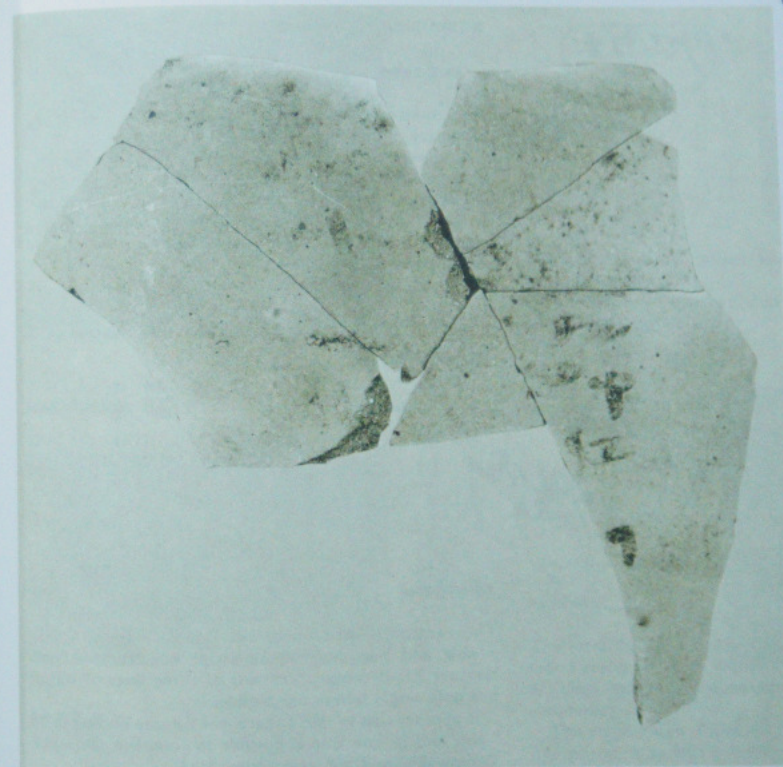
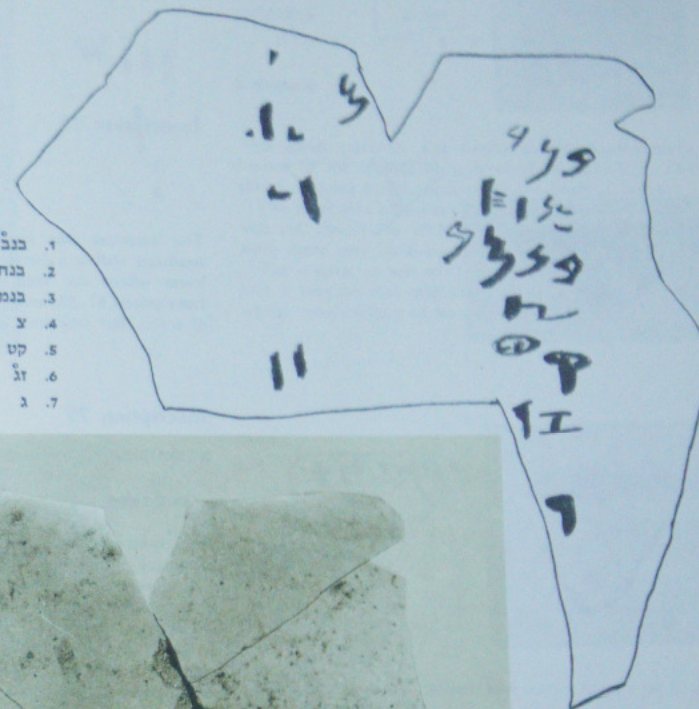
The ostrakon was found in a building to the east of the sanctuary in a locus of Stratum XI, and it contains traces of seven lines of script. It appears that this is a list of names with the addition of amounts of grain. The first three names begin with בן "son of", as in Inscriptions 55-56, and *vid.* the discussion there, and Inscription 49.

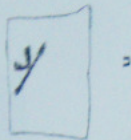
In the left-hand row it is possible to discern numbers, and in lines 2 and 3 the *hekat* sign appears (*cf.* Inscriptions 25, 33, 34, 60). In line 2, the *hekat* sign appears before the number 1, thus giving 10 *hekats*.¹ In line 3, the number comes before the *hekat* sign, giving 100 *hekats*. Thus it is possible to suppose that in line 6, too, the *hekat* sign appeared before the number 2, giving 20 *hekats*.

In line 1, the letter *mem* was preserved before the number, perhaps the type of grain was noted before the amount, such as מ[חם] = חמים "wheat" (*cf.* Inscriptions 31; 33), and it is possible to reconstruct the line tentatively: ... חם... בן ב Son of B... wheat...

1. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, Inscription 60, note 2.

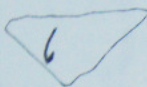
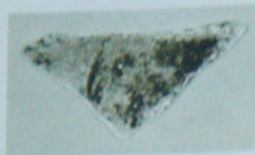
- | | | |
|-----------|-----|---|
| בן | בנב | 1 |
| בן | בנח | 2 |
| בן | בנמ | 3 |
| | צ | 4 |
| | קט | 5 |
| 2[0 חקאת] | 11 | 6 |
| | 2 | 7 |





Inscription 77

The ostracon was found together with Inscription 76. Only one letter was preserved.



Inscription 78

The ostracon was found in the room next to the southern wall in a locus of Stratum XI, underneath the room where the seals of Eliashib were found, and Inscriptions 31, 32, and 34. It contains traces of two lines of script, but only one letter is legible.



Inscription 79

אח ב יח
2 אח ב (תים)

...ah 2 baths

The ostracon was found in the southern court of the sanctuary, in a level of Stratum XI.

It appears that the first two letters אח are the last part of a personal name, whose beginning is missing. Afterwards come a bet and three strokes. The first stroke, longer than the others, belongs apparently to the abbreviation for the bath measure (*vid.* Inscription 1:3) and after it the number 2.



Inscription 80

אב.
יקמ
... 3

Yekam[yahu]

The ostracon is unstratified. The sherd was found within a wall, and according to the script was classified with Stratum XI. It contains remains of three lines of script, but only single letters are legible.

It appears that in line 1 there was a name ending in אב "ab", and in line 2 it is possible to complete the name Yekamyahu, and *vid.* Inscription 39:1.

Inscription 81



ש (קלים) 3
1 (?)

3 sh(ekels)
1 (?)

This small ostracon was found in the southwestern corner of the citadel on a level of Stratum XII. The sherd contains faded remains of two lines of script.

The letter shin is perhaps the abbreviation of "shekels", and *vid.* Inscription 16:5. The numbers are uncertain, since there may have been more strokes.

The inscription was written on the shoulder of a jug, and it may be that originally it had been written on a whole vessel, telling of its contents.

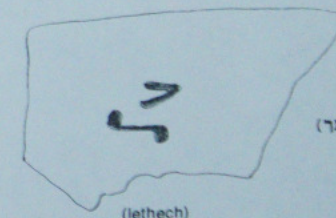
Inscription 82



The ostracon is unstratified, and comes from a pit in the area of the sanctuary.

The ostracon contains faded signs of script, and only one letter is legible.

Inscription 83

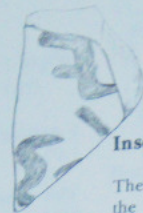


1
2
3

(lethech)

The ostracon was found on the western slope. It contains faded traces of three lines of script, but only two signs are clear, apparently signs representing amounts of some commodity.

The second sign appeared in other ostraca, where we interpreted it as half a homer, the lethech measure (*vid.* Inscription 18:5).



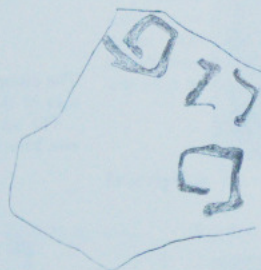
Inscription 84

The ostracon is unstratified. It was found 20 cm. under the level of the Roman Stratum.
The ostracon contains remains of two lines. Only one letter is clear in the first line.



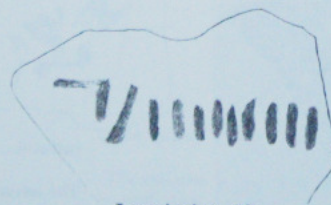
Inscription 85

The ostracon was found in the center of the citadel on a level with the courtyard of Stratum VI. It contains three signs representing a monogram or drawing. The left-hand sign is similar to the letter *yod* with shortened horizontal strokes.



Inscription 86

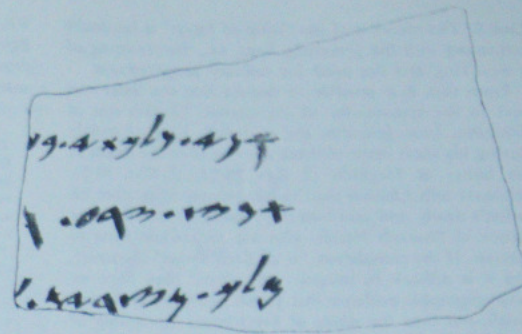
The ostracon was found in one of the rooms of Stratum VII in the center of the citadel. There is no certainty whether the signs are part of a rough design, or ill-formed letters.



Inscription 87

The ostracon was found in the courtyard of the sanctuary near the "basin", on the level of Stratum IX. It contains nine lines, a diagonal stroke, and the hieratic number 5.

Inscription 88



- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| אני מלכתי בכל | 1. אני מלכתי בב |
| אמץ זרע ו | 2. אמץ זרע ו |
| מלך מצרים ל | 3. מלך מצרים ל |

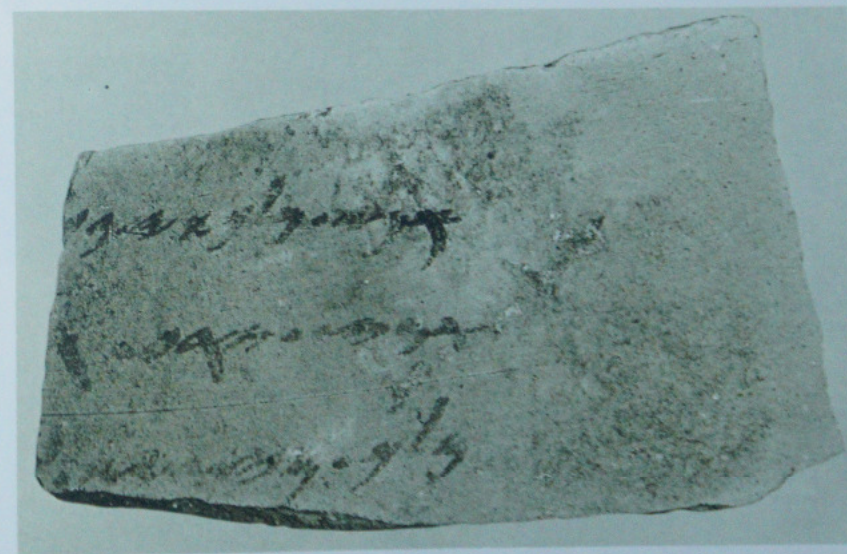
I have come to reign in all...
Take strength and...
King of Egypt to...

This ostracon was found on the ground on Passover Eve, 1974, after this volume was ready for publication.¹ According to the script, it is clear that it belongs to Stratum VII, and *vid.* especially the *yod* which still has a tail, but the two upper horizontal strokes make a sort of triangle in which the upper line is longer and somewhat rounded.

The beginnings of three lines of script were preserved, and all the letters are clear.

Line 1. "I have come to reign", that is, "I became king". Compare this to the Mesha stone: *אני מלכתי*. Thus it appears that this was a letter from the king, in which he announces to the commander of the citadel that he has taken the throne. At the end of the line, two letters were preserved, which possibly should be completed: *בכל* "in all the land" or *בכל ארץ ישראל* (cf. 2 Chr 34:7).

Line 2. This idiom appears in the Bible only in poetical passages (תאמץ וזרעיה) "And maketh strong her arms", Prov 31:17; תאמץנו אף זרעי "Mine arm shall strengthen him", Ps 89:22). But there is no doubt that "to become strong" is meant, in other words, energetic military preparedness.



Line 3. The mention of the "King of Egypt" is no doubt connected with the preceding lines, i.e. the crowning of a new king and the need for military preparedness.

From this, it is possible to deduce that the letter was sent to the commander of the citadel, Eliashib son of Eshiyahu, from Jehoahaz son of Josiah, King of Judah, during his short reign of three months after the death of his father at Megiddo (2 Kgs 23:31; 2 Chr 31:2). Jehoahaz tells Eliashib that he has become king after his father's death, and asks him to prepare for war with the return of Pharaoh Necho, who has meanwhile gone to Harran. If the completion "in all Eretz-Israel" is correct, and it is difficult to imagine any other,² then here we have epigraphic evidence that Josiah ruled not only over Judah, but over the whole of Eretz-Israel. According to the Bible, Josiah's purification of the cult took place "in all Eretz-Israel" (2 Chr 34:7). His son Jehoahaz demanded for himself the succession to all of his father's kingdom, including both Israel and Judah, thus the emphasis on the boundaries of his kingdom.

This letter corroborates our conclusion that Stratum

VII was destroyed in the year 609 B.C.E. by the Egyptians, following Jehoahaz's surrender and the crowning of his brother Eliakim-Jehoiakim as an Egyptian protégé.

1. The ostrakon was found during a visit to the tell by Israel Sommer from the Ein Gedi Field School, and was given to me a few days later, on Passover Eve, 1974, via Pesah Bar-Adon. Unfortunately, we do not know for certain in which of the rooms of the citadel it was found, since Sommer picked up sherds from all over the citadel and noticed the inscription only after the washing up at Ein Gedi.
2. [There is nothing to commend the idle fancy by Y. Yadin to the effect that this is an announcement by Asshur-uballit that he was ruling "in Carchemish", The Historical Significance of Inscription 88 from Arad: A Suggestion, *IEJ* 26 (1976), pp. 9-14. First of all, Asshur-uballit has already become king at Harran, *ANET* p. 305, and now A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, 1975), pp. 94-95, lines 49, 60-61. Secondly, no Assyrian king would have used the wording of our text to describe his establishment of headquarters at a provisional capital at Carchemish. Lemaire, *IH*, p. 221 n. 149, also points out that an Assyrian communique would have been written in Aramaic; he, too, rejects Yadin's theory. AFR]

Incised Inscriptions (Graffiti)

Inscriptions 89-104 were incised on whole vessels after they were fired. In five of them, the letter *lamed* was preserved as the first letter, clearly indicating that the name of the owner of the vessel was inscribed.

Inscription 89



The sherd was found in a building near the entrance to the sanctuary, together with Inscription 43 in Locus 786 from Stratum VIII, and only three letters of it were preserved:

ליו

After them is the remnant of another letter. It would appear that this was a name beginning with the theophorous element ... יו "Yo...". The script, especially the *yod*, appears to be earlier than the stratum in which it was found.

Inscription 90



The sherd was found in the storehouse, in Locus 245 from Stratum VIII, and only traces of three letters were preserved:

וּסַח

The *waw* and the *het* are clear. Only the top of the *samek* was preserved, and it is written much lower than the other two letters; but there is no doubt as to its identity.

It is difficult to suggest a completion to these three letters. A personal name beginning ... יוּסַח "Yehosah..." is unknown, and only hesitantly do we suggest the completion: [לִיהוֹסַח] "[To Yeh]osah[ar]".



Inscription 91

The sherd was found in a room near the southern wall, in Locus 443b from Stratum VIII, and two letters were preserved:

לח

The inscription assuredly contained a personal name beginning with the letter *het*.

Inscription 92*



The sherd was found in the center of the citadel in Locus 355 from Stratum IX, and only four letters were preserved:

לחננ (Belonging) to Hanan.

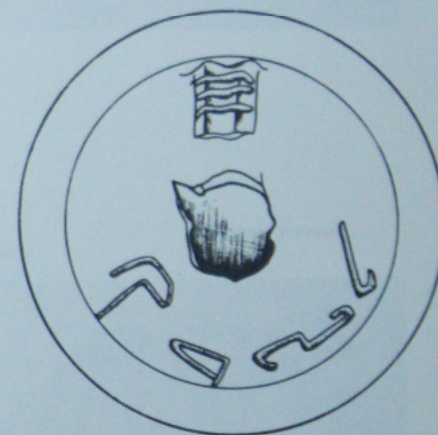
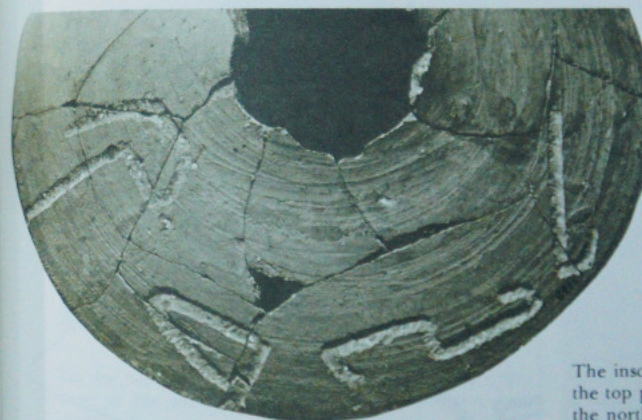
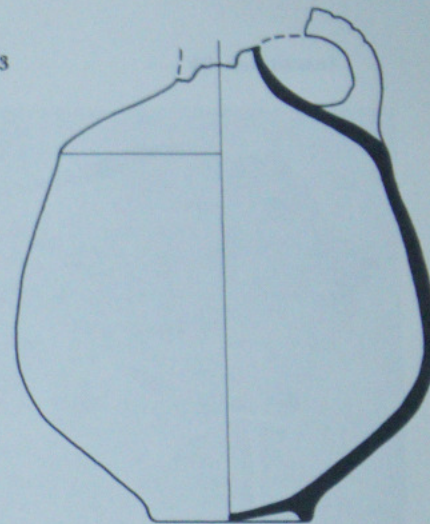
The inscription was incised on the shoulder of the vessel after firing, and appears to be a name which had been

engraved on a whole vessel. The name Hanan has already appeared in Inscription 38:2,6. Since the script reached the very edge of the sherd, this may be only part of a name, such as Hananyahu (*vid.* Inscriptions 3:3; 16:1; 36:4).

* Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni, *Excavations at Tel Arad. Preliminary Report on the Second Season*, *IEJ* 17 (1967), p. 246; also in *Hebrew in Yediot* 18 (1964), p. 167.



Inscription 93



The inscription is incised on the shoulder of a jug, only the top part of which is missing. The vessel was found to the north of the rooms in the southern wall, Locus 841 from Stratum IX. There are four letters:

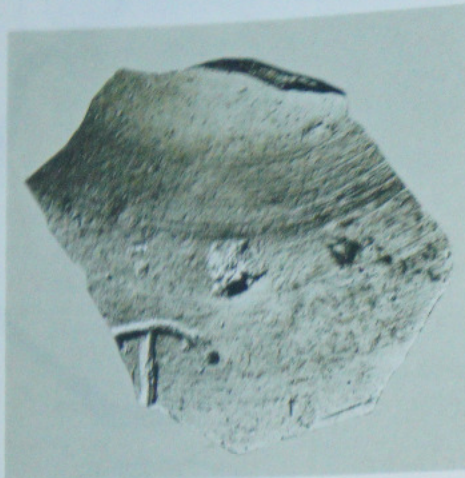
לצדק (Belonging) to Zadok

The name צדוק, Zadok, is common in the Bible, especially as the name of the Cohanite family, apparently descendants of the House of Zadok.¹ An unpractised hand — perhaps an illiterate man — engraved the inscription crudely.²

1. *Enc. Bibl.* VI, cols. 673-677 (Heb.).

2. Cf. *Beer-Sheva* I, pp. 73ff.

Inscription 94



The sherd was found in the courtyard of the sanctuary. Remains of one letter were preserved on the shoulder of a jug, probably the beginning of a name which had been written on a whole jug. From the two strokes preserved, it appears that the letter is a *dalet*, although it could just possibly be a *gimel*.

Inscription 95



A piece of a jug that was found in a room to the south of the courtyard of the sanctuary, Locus 786 from Stratum VIII, on whose shoulder two letters are preserved:

ה י

The second letter could also be *het*.

Inscription 96



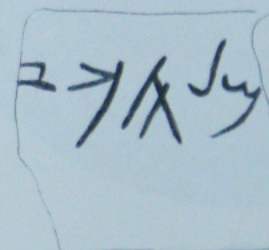
Only two letters were preserved on this piece from a jug:

ה מ

It would appear that this is the last part of a name, such

as *Zaham* (2 Chr 11:19), *Chimham* (2 Sam 19:38), *Shoham* (1 Chr 24:27), or even *Abraham* [though this is unlikely, AFR].

Inscription 97



On the handle of a jug, which was found in the upper level in the area of the storehouse, five letters were preserved:

י מ ל א כ י Malachi

The engraving is crude and the form of most of the letters is distorted. Thus it would seem that this inscription was incised by a man not used to writing, as in several inscriptions from Beer-Sheba,¹ and perhaps Inscription 93 above. Only the *mem* and the *kaf* are written correctly. The *lamed* is written backwards,² and the last letter is apparently a *yod* in which the descending stroke was discontinued in the middle.³ The most doubtful letter is the middle one. It is similar to the later Aramaic

he, but a third horizontal stroke necessary for a Hebrew *he* is missing. Thus it seems more probable that this is a crude and distorted form of the letter *aleph*, in which the two horizontal strokes are written in the wrong direction.⁴ We would therefore have the name *Malachi* or perhaps *Malachi[yahu]*. This name appears in the Bible only as the name of one of the prophets. Even though the reading of this inscription is not entirely certain, it supports the theory that *Malachi* is the name of the prophet, and not his title.⁵

1. *Beer-Sheba* 1, pp. 73ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 74, No. 4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 74, No. 2.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 74, No. 3.

5. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* IV, cols. 1027-1028 (Heb.).

חסרה



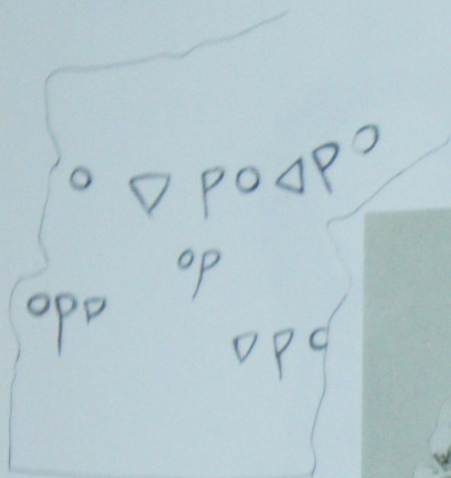
The inscription is engraved on a neck-less jug found in the room next to the southern wall, Locus 514a from Stratum X. Three letters are incised on the shoulder:

חסרה

The inscription is whole, and there is no doubt as to its reading. It is difficult to believe that this is a personal name. Although in the Bible the name חסרה "Hasrah" appears (2 Chr 34:22), it would seem to be a mistake for חרס "Harhas", which appears in the parallel passage (2 Kgs 22:14). Possibly this jug was in cultic use, and something was "missing", either from its contents or from the measure it was supposed to represent — but it is difficult to know.

* Preliminary publication: *op. cit.*, Inscription 92.





The sherds, found in one of the rooms in the southwestern corner of the citadel (Locus 455, Stratum IX) together with other vessels, comprise about half of a bowl. On the inside of this bowl, the letters: ערד are written several times.

On one of the sherds, these letters are incised five times (one of them with only 'ayin and resh), and the letter 'ayin alone appears on one edge, no doubt the beginning of a sixth engraving of the word. This group of letters appears a seventh time on another sherd, and on yet another sherd the letters 'ayin and resh appear. Thus there are all together eight engravings of the name. Six times the letters are written backwards,

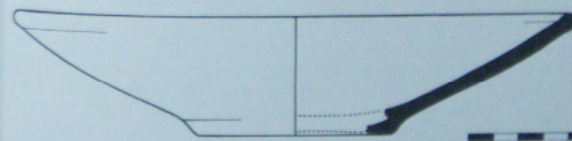
* Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, Excavations at Tel Arad, Preliminary Report of the First Season, *IEJ* 14 (1964), pp. 158f.; also in Hebrew in *Yadot* 27 (1965), p. 226.

although the direction of writing (right to left) is correct, and twice the name was written from left to right.

The script is crude and archaic, and it appears to have been written by someone unused to writing, and cf. the clumsy form of the letters on the crude seal, Inscription 109.¹ Possibly the writer copied the name of the city several times, and it is difficult to decide if it was done as a game, as the exercise of an apprentice, or for another purpose.

Cf. this inscription to one of the ostraca (Inscription 24:11) in which the name of Arad is written (and *vid.* Inscription 48:1).

1. There is no basis for Yadin's proposal that this is a Greek inscription written (partially!) without vowels, which copied the place name badly, *vid.* Y. Yadin, *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 30-32. It is also a pity that here, too, Yadin loses no opportunity to cast doubt on the stratigraphy of Arad, basing it in this case on a proposal which is even in his own words "rather far-fetched".



Inscription 100



On the inside of a burnished bowl found in the courtyard of the sanctuary (Locus 947, Stratum X), an inscription was engraved in large letters, of which only one was preserved:

ח

There are traces of additional letters on either side.

Inscription 101^a



The sherd was found in the courtyard of the sanctuary (Locus 388, Stratum X), and three letters were engraved on after the firing:

חלל

The inscription is clear and there is no doubt as to its reading, but there is no certainty as to whether it was written on a whole vessel or on a sherd. Perhaps this sherd was connected with the casting of lots, and the

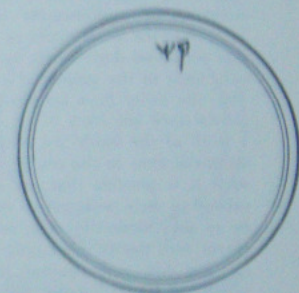
^a Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Ostraca from Arad*, *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* I (1967), p. 13 (Heb., English summary p. 251).

inscription means "one half". Prof. Albright suggested to me that חלל = חלל might mean "luck", as in two inscriptions from Ugarit.¹ As such, it would also pertain to lots. The definition of the Ugaritic term has been disputed,² but not on justifiable grounds. AFR].

At Beer-Sheba, a jug was discovered with the incised inscription: חלל לללל. חלל "half to the king". Apparently it meant an official half measure (iśšārôn?) fixed by royal decree. Perhaps the same inscription was written on the vessel under discussion, which would then have been used for measuring, as in Beer-Sheba.

1. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Roma 1965, p. 595, no. 855.
2. J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* 1967, p. 106; B. Conrad, *Der Gott Reschaf*, ZAW 83 (1971), p. 172.

Inscription 102^a



This bowl was found together with the following bowl at the foot of the sacrificial altar in the sanctuary (Locus 394, Stratum X).

Near the rim of the bowl on the inside, two signs were incised after the firing:

חלל

For discussion, *vid. below*, Inscription 103.

^a Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni, *Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple*, BA 31 (1968), p. 20; Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Ostraca from Arad*, *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I (1967), p. 13 (Heb., English summary p. 251).

Inscription 103*

Near the rim of the bowl, from the inside, two signs are incised:

7

Inscriptions 102-103 are identical, thus they will be discussed together.

The first sign is a proper Hebrew *qoph*, as it was written up to the beginning of the eighth century B.C.E.¹ The fact that this letter was written so well leaves us no doubt that the second sign is not a letter. An archaic *kaph*, such as in the ancient Phoenician inscriptions,² is impossible, since in all the Hebrew inscriptions, the right-hand stroke is lengthened below. The earliest example is the Gezer calendar, in which a much more archaic form of the *qoph* is written together with a *kaph* which has a descending right-hand stroke.³ And a Phoenician *shin* similar to it does not appear before the end of the seventh century.⁴ Such a date would be impossible stratigraphically,⁵ as well as the impossibility of its appearing together with the early *qoph*. It is also necessary to emphasize the different writing of this sign in each of the inscriptions: in Inscription 102, the middle line continues downwards, and the two strokes on either side meet in the middle at a right angle; in Inscription 103, the outer lines form a half-circle, and the middle stroke does not cross it.

Both of the bowls are offering bowls found near the sacrificial altar in the courtyard of the sanctuary, and as such it is possible that the signs written on them are related to their consecration to this service. The *qoph* may be an abbreviation for *קדש* "holy", and cf., the bowl from Hazor with the double engraving of the letters *קדש*, once on the rim and another time on the outside with additional letters;⁶ a pot with the inscription *קדש* from Beer-Sheba;⁷ and also the following inscription (No. 104).

However, it seems more likely that the *qoph* is an abbreviation for *קרבן* "sacrifice". According to the passage from the Mishnah (Maas. Sh. 4:10-11):

המוצא כלי וכתוב עליו קרבן, ר' יהודה אומר, אם הוא של חרס הוא חולין ומה שכתובו הוא קרבן ואם הוא של מכתב הנו קרבן ומה שכתובו חולין... המוצא כלי וכתוב עליו ק — קרבן, מ — מעשר, ד — דמאי, ס — טבל, ת — תרומה...

"If a man found a vessel and on it was written 'Korban', R. Judah says: If it was of earthenware, the vessel is to be deemed unconsecrated, but its contents *Korban*; and if it was of metal it is to be deemed *Korban*, but its contents unconsecrated... If a man found a vessel and on it was inscribed a *Kof*, this is *Korban*; if a *Mem* it is *Maaser* (tithe); if a *Daleth* it is *Demai*-produce (produce not certainly tithed); and if a *Tau* it is *Terumah* (heave-offering)..." (Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah*, Oxford 1933, p. 80).

A piece of a stone vessel from the Herodian period with the inscription *קרבן* "sacrifice" was found in the excavations from the southern Temple Mount in Jerusa-

* Preliminary publication, *vid. op. cit.* (Inscription 101).

lem.⁸ Aside from the inscription, several designs were also incised on the vessel: underneath the inscription, two fowls were engraved upside down; perhaps they were connected to the sacrifice, as Mazar suggests; and above the *qoph*, a sign identical to the second sign in these bowls was incised. It is difficult to imagine that this similarity is coincidental, which leads to the conclusion that this sign is an ancient symbol related to the sacrifice.

The inscriptions under discussion should also be compared with six ostraca from Tell Kāmid el-Lōz from the Late Bronze Period, which were found near a sanctuary, according to the excavators.⁹ Mansfeld noticed that a sort of monogram of two signs appears in each ostrakon, but his interpretation of these signs, in comparison to later South Semitic inscriptions, is forced. One of the signs, a circle with a line descending out of it, is clearly a *qoph* in comparison to early Phoenician script. The second sign is a triangle with two lengthened sides, similar to the sign appearing on the marked shekel weights from Judah.¹⁰ According to Mansfeld's description, first an acute angle with unequal sides was incised, and then the third stroke was added. From the drawings, it is clear that in most of the examples the third stroke begins at the end (or near the end) of the shorter line of the angle, and crosses the longer line. In three sherds, several attempts were made until the sign was written correctly (Ostraca 4, 6, 7).¹¹ In two cases, the line of the *qoph* crosses one of the lines of the second sign (Ostraca 6, 8), and in one case the two signs are written as a ligature, with one of the lines of the triangle serving as the line of the *qoph* also (Ostrakon 5).

The suggestion by Mansfeld to read the second sign as an *aleph* because it is the only letter formed by a crossed acute angle, and because there is no other similar letter,¹² is unfounded. Just as in the inscriptions under discussion from Arad, there is no choice but to assume that before us is the letter *qoph* with an additional symbol. There is even a resemblance between these symbols from Arad and those from Kāmid el-Lōz. In both cases, the basic form is an angle with an additional line crossing it, and only the direction of the crossing line is different.

Even though distance and 400 years separate these inscriptions, it would be difficult to suppose that the great similarity is purely coincidental. Both are connected to sanctuaries, and in both there is a *qoph* (abbreviation for "sacrifice" or "holy") with the addition of a sign, apparently related to the consecration of these objects to the sanctuary and its cult.

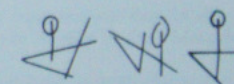
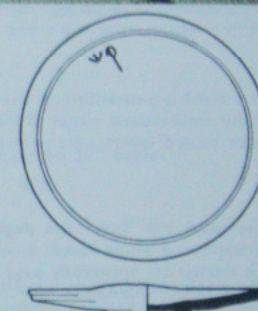
1. F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 165 (1962), p. 41; Aharoni, *Land*, p. 323, n. 100.

2. Cf. Mazar (Maisler), *Leshonenu* 14 (1941), p. 169 (Heb.); Moscati, *Lepigrapha*, Pl. XXXIV.

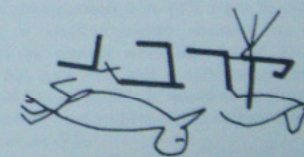
3. Moscati, *ibid.*

4. J. Brian Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, Cambridge, Mass. (1968), pp. 169-170. In Aramaic inscriptions, a similar *shin* is known only from the sixth century, *vid. J. Naveh, The Development of the Aramaic Script*, Jerusalem (1970), pp. 20f.

5. We want to emphasize here that there is no doubt as to the stratigraphy of the two bowls. These whole vessels were found *in situ* in clear stratigraphic context. These delicate bowls with grooved rims were found at Arad only in the neighborhood of the sanctuary, and are not to be confused with types of burnished bowls from later periods.



Three graffiti on sherds from Kāmid el-Lōz, *vid. G. Mansfeld, Kamid el-Loz-Kumidi, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 7 (1970), pp. 25, 28.



"Korban" inscription and graffiti on a stone vessel from Jerusalem from the Herodian period, *vid. B. Mazar, Eretz-Israel* X (1971), Pl. XXV.2.

6. Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor* 3-4, Jerusalem 1961, Pl. CCCLVII: 4-5, CCCLVIII: 5 (Heb.).

7. Beer-Sheba 1, p. 73.

8. B. Mazar, *Eretz-Israel* IX (1969), p. 168; Pl. XXXV: 5 (Heb.).

9. G. Mansfeld, Scherben mit altkanaanischer Buchstabenschrift vom Tell Kāmid el-Lōz, *Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 7 (1970), pp. 32-36; Pls. 4; 8.

10. *Vid. Enc. bibl.* IV, cols. 867-868 (Heb.).

11. Mansfeld's suggestion to interpret some of these signs as letters does not seem possible to me.

12. Mansfeld, *op. cit.* (note 9), p. 33.

Inscription 104



The sherd is unstratified. It was found among the stones in the northeastern corner of the Hellenistic tower. Only three incised letters were preserved:

קדש

The word קדש "holy" was engraved on the sherd, or perhaps on a whole vessel. A comparison of vessels with this inscription, apparently used in religious rites, will be found above, Inscription 103.



THE SEALS



לאלישב
בנאשיהו

Inscription 105*

A seal, containing two lines of script divided by two parallel horizontal lines:

To Eliashib
Son of Eshiyahu

For discussion, *vid.* Inscription 107 below.

* Preliminary publication of seals 105-108, *vid.* Y. Aharoni, *Seals of Royal Functionaries from Arad, Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967), pp. 101-103 (Heb., English summary p. 71*).



לאלישב
בנאשיהו

Inscription 106

A seal containing two lines of script divided by two parallel horizontal lines, with a geometric design at either end of the lines:

To Eliashib
Son of Eshiyahu

For discussion, *vid.* Inscription 107 below.



לאלישב
נאשיה

Inscription 107

A seal. It would be difficult to determine from what material it was made without harming it. On examination, limestone, quartz, and apparently clay were discovered. The seal is very light (specific gravity 2.06) and relatively soft. Its color is black and the color of the engraving is brown.

It was probably made from ceramic clay, or else from paste. Its black color may be due to the absorption of hydrocarbons.

There is a longitudinal hole through the seal.

There are two lines of script separated by a geometric design:

To Eliashib
Son of Eshiyah[u]

These three seals (Inscriptions 105-107) were found in the same room, a small chamber abutting on the southern wall. Three ostraca were also found in this room (Nos. 31, 32, and 34), and a rich collection of delicate vessels (*vid.* above, p. 56). It would seem that this room was a storehouse and archive of the commander of the citadel in Stratum VII.

The three seals were found near the western wall of the room. Two were discovered on the floor, and the third was found during the sifting of the soil from this room. They were probably kept on a shelf together with

It is interesting that the three seals belonged to the same man, Eliashib son of Eshiyahu, well-known to us from the archive of ostraca (Inscriptions 1-18; 24). On the first two seals, his name appears written fully, whereas the third seal carries an abbreviation: אֵלִיָּשִׁיב . Double letters and vowels were left out. The double *bet* was written only once, even though it belongs to two words. The *yod* of Eliashib was also elided, even though in this name it is a consonant and not a vowel. The name means הוּא יָשִׁיב "The Lord will return (it)". Leaving out the final *waw* cannot be construed as a different method of writing, usual in later periods. We thus have here a telling example of graphic abbreviation in seals, based on simple phonetic laws, which strengthens the hypotheses suggested in other similar cases.⁷

In the present case, it is clear that these "private" seals, containing only the name of their bearer, were not at all private, but belonged to an official who had a great deal of authority. It is interesting to note that Eliashib kept several seals, probably for sealing official documents and consignments, perhaps sometimes used by his subordinates. Thus it is clear that the lack of a title or emblem on a Hebrew seal does not prove that it was a private seal. This conclusion is especially relevant in the question

A seal, containing three lines of script. Double lines separate the rows:

The seal is worn from usage, and since it is slightly convex, the center was especially worn down. The center

2) "Private" seal impressions identical to each other were found in different tells in Judah, in places fairly far from each other, similar to "למך" seals.⁵

3) At Ramat Raḥel, a jar handle was found on which a "private" seal and a royal seal were stamped next to each other.⁶ [At Lachish two more jars have been discovered, each bearing private seal impressions on some handles and royal seal impressions on others.⁷]

The seals under discussion here strengthen this hypothesis, being a decisive proof that seals on which only the owner's name is written may be seals of government officials.

These seals prove that Eliashib son of Eshiyahu was the commander of the fortress of Arad both in Stratum VII and Stratum VI. The conclusions arising from this fact will be discussed below in the general summary.

1. Cf. *Enc. bibl.* I, col. 354 (Heb.).
2. H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR* 109 (1948), p. 21, n. 10; Y. Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel* I, pp. 44f.; II, pp. 17f.
3. Düringer, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 11ff.; Moscati, *L'epigrafia*, pp. 72ff.; F. M. Cross, *Judean Stamps*, *EI* 9 (1969), pp. 20-27.
4. *Ramat Rahel* II, p. 61.
5. Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Jar-Stamps from Ramat Rahel, Eretz-Israel* 6 (1960), pp. 58-59 (Heb., English summary p. 28*).
6. *Ramat Rahel* I, pp. 16f.; 53f.
7. D. Ussishkin, *BASOR* 223 (1976), pp. 1-13.

of the second line is too worn to read, but it is clear that after the word בן "son of", comes a name ending in "-yahu". Thus the seal contained three names ending in "-yahu", the last two with the addition of בן "son of":
 "To Berekyahu son of . . . yahu son of Shelemvahu".

As far as we know, this is the first seal in which more than two generations are indicated. There are seals of three lines or more,¹ but no more than two generations are written. Even on the seal impression on a *bullā* from Lachish, which has three lines, the last line does not contain a personal name, but apparently the profession (כֹּהֵן "prophet").²

Mentioning two fathers' names is a common phenomenon on the Bible, but the second name is usually the family name, and not the name of the father's father (e.g.: מֶרְמוֹת בֶּן אֻרִיָּה "Meremoth the son of Uriah, the son of Hakkoz", Neh 3:4). In the biblical genealogies, many are mentioned who hold an office passed on from father to son, and in such cases, the third name is the name of the ancestor with whom the office was originally associated.⁸ Thus it may be supposed that Shelemyahu in this seal is not the name of the grandfather of Berekyahu, but the family name, and that the owner of the seal served in a governmental office at Arad. Reinforcing this hypothesis is the fact that this seal was found in a house next to that of Eliashib son of Eshiyahu, also from Stratum VII.

May we conclude from the name Shelemihu something about Berekyahu's profession? Berekyahu and Shelemiyahu are common names in the Bible (Berechiah and Shelemiah),⁴ thus any relationship can only be an educated guess. Pertinent to our discussion is the family of doorkeepers Meshelemiah-Shelemiah (1 Chr 26:1, 9, 14). A member of this family, Zechariah the son of

A seal, containing two lines of script separated by a line:

To Darshiya-
hu son of Ez[er] (or Uzz[a])

The right-hand edge of the seal is broken, thus only part of the last letter of the first line remains (*he*); in the second line, only the lower horizontal line of the *zayin* remains, and the last letter is missing. The probable completion of the inscription is "To Darshiyahu son of Ezer" or "Uzza". Ezer and Uzza are common names, and

* Preliminary publication: Y. Aharoni, Excavations at Tel Arad, Preliminary Report of the Second Season, *IEJ* 17 (1967), pp. 246f.; also in Hebrew in *Yediot* 28 (1964), p. 167.

Meshelemiah, was "porter of the door of the tent of meeting" (1 Chr 9:21), one of the keepers of the threshold who were apparently responsible for the money donated to the Temple (2 Kgs 12:10; 22:4).⁶ The sanctuary of Arad no doubt needed a treasurer who would keep the donations and tithes. It is true that the sanctuary was not in use in Stratum VII and was completely destroyed in Stratum VI, probably following Josiah's reform; however, as we learned from the ostraca, Arad continued to serve as a collection point for the tithes even after the destruction of the sanctuary (*vid.* Inscription 5:11-12). It is not impossible that Berek-yahu's office was connected with these activities.

1. Düringer, *Israzioni*, p. 233.
2. Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 189 (1968), p. 167; Y. Aharoni, *Beth Hamikra* II (1969), p. 21 (Heb.).
3. For a comparison of Solomon's ministers called only by the family name to specific office-bearers at Ugarit, cf. A. Ali, *Archiv Orientalni* 18 (1950), pp. 9-24 and *Kleine Schriften* III, pp. 198-213; and vide above, Ostraca 55-56.
4. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, p. 155, 981.
5. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, London 1961, p. 379.

לדרשיה
ובנעז']

vid. Inscriptions 22:2; 23:8; 51:2; 58:3; and 72:4. In contrast, the name Darshiyahu is a new name, appearing here for the first time.

The engraving was done crudely, possibly at Arad. The letters are written negatively, as is usual on seals, aside from the *nun*, which was written positively. This also demonstrates that the engraver was unused to his craft. There is the beginning of a hole drilled where the seal is broken; probably the seal broke during the drilling and was never used. The seal was found in one of the rooms from Stratum VIII, but the script appears to be earlier. Notice especially the *waw* with a half-circle at the top, the square *bet* with a long horizontal stroke, and the round *ayin*.

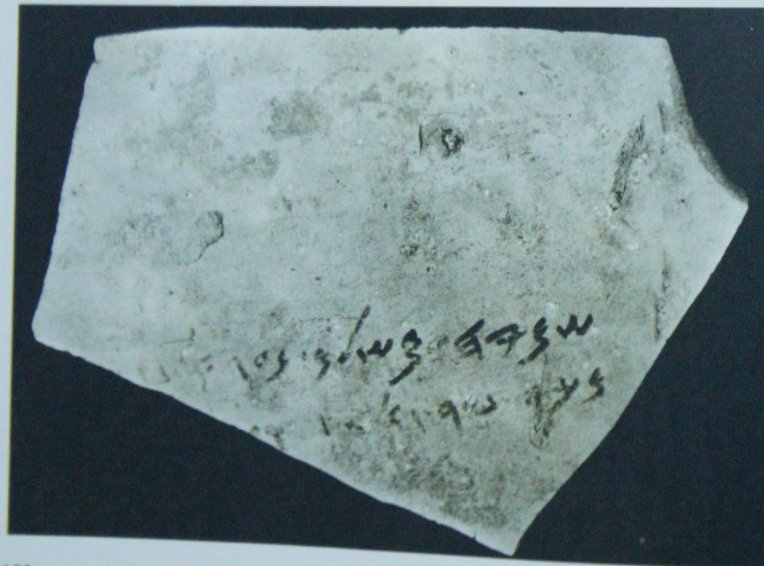
This script cannot be later than the ninth century, thus it would appear that the origin of the seal is from an earlier period.

THREE ADDITIONAL TEXTS

A. F. RAINEY

During the restoration work on the Israelite fortress at Tel Arad in the summer of 1976, three new Hebrew ostraca were discovered. They were among sherds gathered from soil collected by the workmen for use as fill. The supervisor of restoration, Jack Campbell, discovered the first ostrakon (No. 110) and the other two were found while dipping the remaining sherds at the Tel Beer-Sheba Expedition camp. All three texts were numbered and registered along with the finds of the brief rescue operation carried out at Tel Arad while Campbell's restoration was underway.

The script of all three inscriptions corresponds to that of Arad Stratum VI. This is obvious from comparison of certain diagnostic letters, e.g. the *yod*, with those on the paleographic table from that stratum (cf. pp. 133-134). Our hand copies have been prepared in the same manner as those published by Aharoni, with one addition: when the pencil copy was photocopied, the tracing on transparent paper was photocopied over a black and white photograph of the ostrakon. Thus, the stains, smears and other markings of the original can be seen behind the penciled interpretation. True photographs, by Avraham Hay, are also included as with the previously published texts.



Inscription 110*

Shemiah (son of) Meshullam, squire of Elnatha[n]... (so-and-so) son of] Machi, squire of Gedaliah; K[...].

This inscription was found along with other parts of the same vessel, a jar, just outside of the Israelite fortress on the northern side.¹ The text is a list of personal names, apparently indicating the men to whom the contents of the jar were consigned. The placing of the text on the present sherd, close to the bottom, favors the assumption that this was really an inscription on the intact jar.

שמייה — the traces after the *he* do not represent a *waw*. The name may be interpreted as *šmīyā*, a hitherto unattested name. A short form, ending in *-yā* instead of *-yāhū*. One might compare the biblical name Shammai (1 Chr 2:28, et al.).

משלם — For this well known name, *vid.* Aharoni's observations on its occurrence in Inscription 39:3. It is well known from ancient Hebrew seals and nineteen people by that name are known from the Bible. Although the word *ben*, "son", is not written, it would seem obvious that Meshullam is the father of Shemiah; the relation between the two names would thus be identical to that on an inscribed seal. In fact, the present text may be a copy of the text on a *bullā* or *bullae* that sealed this very jar.

נער — This term has been discussed recently by Avi-Gad² and MacDonald.³ It is obvious that *n'r* originally indicated simply a "youth," but was in use in ancient

* For Nos. 110-112 the initial publication was A. F. Rainey, Three Additional Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Arad, *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), pp. 97-104, Pls. 5-6.

Israel as a technical designation for a certain functionary. In military contexts, the *na'ar* is a "squire," usually a young man serving as an armor bearer for a qualified fighting man. He was most likely an apprentice who would someday be a full fledged warrior himself with his own squire(s). Probably by virtue of such a relationship, certain individuals also served as the stewards of their mentor's estates. Such was Ziba, *na'ar* of the house of Saul (2 Sam 19:18). The rendering of "squire" seems most appropriate and can cover both the military and stewardship roles.⁴ As managers of estates, the men of this rank were also responsible for delivering commodities from the produce of the estate to their masters.⁵ In the present text, it is strange to have two separate individuals, each in the service of someone else, as recipients of the commodity in the jar. Likewise, it would seem unusual for their names to indicate that they had shipped jointly some commodity from their respective estates to the fortress at Arad. But both names do appear together so one explanation or the other must be considered. Perhaps their shipments had arrived in separate vessels and for local reasons (lack of space or the like) they were poured into the same jar and the entries from their respective *bullae* inscribed on the side to assure that they would get credit.

אלנתאן — a slight trace of the final *nun* may appear at the edge of the sherd. The name is borne by an important official in Jerusalem during the reign of Jehoichin (Jer 36:12; 22-32) who may even be the father of Nehushta, mother of that king (2 Kgs 24:8). Another Elnathan appears in Lachish Letter No. 3:15.

כי — This hypociristic name is attested once in the Hebrew Bible, Num 13:15. In view of the entry on the first line where father and son are evidently both mentioned we would assume that Machi here is the father of someone whose name had appeared at the end

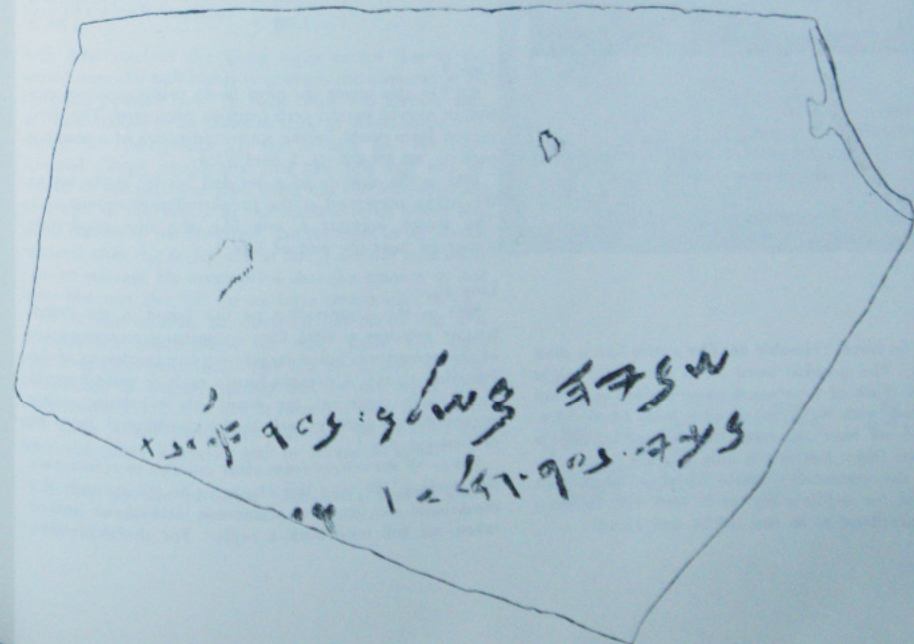
of the previous line, perhaps the Elnathan at the end of line 1.

גדליה — Like the name שמייה, this well known name seems to have the post-exilic spelling without final *waw*. Admittedly, the *waw* in both cases might have been effaced but this seems highly unlikely. Naturally, one is led to speculate as to whether this Gedaliah may have been the royal steward known from the seal impression found at Lachish, who in turn might have been the son of Pashhur who, like Elnathan, was an advisor during the latter days of the monarchy (Jer 38:1). The occurrence of two personal names borne by royal counsellors of the same period could, nevertheless, be strictly fortuitous.

ק[...]. — The *qoph* is quite clear. The second letter might have been a *dalet*, which suggests a name like *qdmīl*, Kadmiel (Ezra 2:40, et al.). Or the letter may be *waw* which would admit the possibility of names like *qwlyh*, Kolaiah (Jer 29:21), *qws*, Koz (1 Chr 4:8) or *qwšyh*, Kushiiah (1 Chr 15:17). An Edomite name like *qws'nl*, Kos'-anal (*vid.* above, Inscription 12:2) seems unlikely in this context.

1. For a discussion of the vessel type, cf. M. Aharoni, The Jar Bearing Arad Text 110, *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), p. 103.
2. N. Avi-Gad, New Light on the Na'ar Seals, apud F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke and P. D. Miller, eds., *Magnalia Dei, The Mighty Acts of God*, Garden City, N.J., 1976, pp. 294-300.
3. J. MacDonald, The Status and Role of the Na'ar in Israelite Society, *JNES* 35 (1976), pp. 147-170.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.
5. Cf. most recently A. F. Rainey, The *Sitt im Leben* of the Samaria Ostraca, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 92.

1. שמייה משלם נער אלנתאן [...]
2. מכי נער גדליה ק [...]

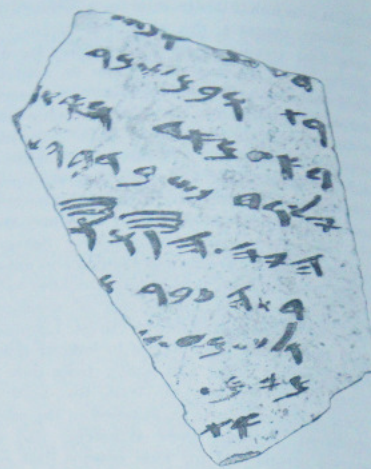


Inscription 111



1. ... whence(?) [...you sa]
2. id(?); and with/on (the) guard [...]
3. very much [af]raid(?); and I will give(?)... [should he/it]
4. be taken, we will send back a report [...]
5. The horse was [...]
6. ... the produce...
7. and to hear and [...]
8. water [...]
9. with/to [...]

Line 1.
אנ — The traces resemble *he*. The entire line is most problematic. The possible word *bn* in the center might lead one to think of a personal name ending in -d but one beginning with 'n- or 'nh or 'nt is hard to conceive.
ח[...] — we have assumed that the preceding line had דב, thus [db]rt, but this is only a guess.
משמר — the connotation could be penal as in Gen 40:3-4, *et al.*, or military, e.g. as in Neh 4:3, 16, or it might be sacerdotal as in Neh 12:24 and 13:14.



- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. רע ב(?) אנא × [...] | 1. דע ב(?) אנא × [...] |
| 2. רת ובמשמר [...] | 2. רת ובמשמר [...] |
| 3. רא.מאר ואתו(?) [...] | 3. רא.מאר ואתו [...] |
| 4. ולקח נשב דברא? [...] | 4. ולקח נשב דברא? [...] |
| 5. הוזה.הסוס [...] | 5. הוזה.הסוס [...] |
| 6. ר.העבר ו[...] [...] | 6. ר.העבר ו[...] [...] |
| 7. ולשמע.א? [...] | 7. ולשמע.א? [...] |
| 8. מומו. [...] | 8. מומו. [...] |
| 9. את [...] | 9. את [...] |

Line 3.
רא — this seems the most likely restoration unless a first or second person verb form be preferred. The third person form could be the stative adjective of a sentence such as הוא ירא מאד, cf. 1 Sam 31:4.
ואתו — the absence of a decided "tittle" at the top of the stroke preserved at the break militates against a *he*. The stance suggests a *nun* like the one apparently preserved near the end of line 1.

Line 4.
לקח — the preservation of the *lamed* in the orthography requires a *nifal*. Our conjectural reconstruction of this sentence is based largely on our rendering of the following clause. A present-future such as *yillāqah* would most likely come at the head of its clause unless preceded by a particle such as the conditional 'im or *ki*, or perhaps *pen*.
ושב — all the letters seem clear enough to substantiate the reading. We take this clause to be the protasis of a conditional or temporal statement, "(If/when) he/it is taken, we will send back a reply." For the expression,

phāṣṣū dābūr, "to send back a message," cf. Isa 41:28; Ezk 9:11, *et al.*

דב — the *dalet* might possibly be read as *he* or perhaps *het*, and the *bet* could be *dalet* since its tail is practically obliterated. But the third letter can hardly be anything but *resh*. Our rendering seems the most likely in view of the preserved traces and the apparent context.

Line 5.
הסוס — the orthography with an internal *mater lectiones* for a long vowel is not uncommon though used only sporadically in the pre-exilic period. For further details cf. Aharoni's discussion, *infra*, p. 112). One is led to wonder whether *hassūs* refers here to a single horse or collectively to "the horse", i.e. the supply of horses for the chariotry (Josh 11:4).

Line 5.
ר — the second sign looks more like a smeared word divider under the magnifying glass though it might give the impression of a small *taw* in the photograph.
העבר — the second letter has been slightly smeared by a long scratch across the face of the sherd. It could hardly be anything else but 'ayin. Cf. the 'ayin in the next line. The word is evidently 'abūr, the equivalent of *rū'ā*, "produce" (Josh 5:11-12). The correct vocalization of the

independent form in Hebrew, as against the construct, is not documented; cf. later Hebrew **būr*. It is cognate to Akkadian *ebūru*. For its other occurrence, cf. *supra* concerning Inscription 31:10.

Line 7.
ולשמע — under the 'ayin there is a stain that might look like the tail of a *resh* but the shape of the letter is pointed at its right extremity unlike a *resh*. After the word divider the final letter looks like traces of an *alef* or a *waw*; cf. the *alef* in *m'd*, line 3, and the *waw* in *hsus*, line 5.

Line 8.
מיס — although the second and third letters are poorly preserved, the traces seem certain, especially when examined under a magnifying glass.

Line 9.
אח — if this is an independent word as it seems to be, the meanings "with" and also "to" are possible for the preposition (for the latter cf. *supra*, Inscription 24:19). It could also be the accusative particle.
So this text fragment provides us with some very interesting orthographies and a tantalizing context. The epistle would have been of great interest had it been complete.

Inscription 112

Flour 67 (*hq3t* measures)
Flour 60 + x *hq3t* measures



Both lines contain the same signs except that in the second line, the *hq3t* measure precedes the numeral, as M. Görg has pointed out.¹ In such cases, the hieratic digit was then meant to be taken as tens, as noted above with regard to Inscriptions 25 (n. 3) and 34. We have accepted Görg's conjecture that the *hq3t* sign was intended in the first line also. Görg has also identified the final sign of the line 1 as the hieratic seven which also seems correct to us. However, the traces of an additional numeral after the 6 (for 60) in line 2 are not sufficiently clear to warrant his assumption that the amount in that latter line was also 67. So we have translated, "60+x."

As for the vocable, קמ, Aharoni has noted that it is probably an abbreviation for קמח, "flour" (cf. *supra* regarding Inscription 8:2). The full word, with all three consonants, is usually spelled out in the Arad texts (Inscriptions 1:5, 5:3, *et al.*). It does not seem likely to us that there is any connection between *qm* in the Arad texts and either Egyptian *qm3* or Akkadian *qemu*.²

1. M. Görg, *qm3* und *qm* in den Arad-Ostraka, *Biblische Notizen*, Beiträge zur exegetischen Diskussion 6 (1978), pp. 10-11.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.



1. קמ (*hq3t*)
2. קמ 60 + x *hq3t*

INSCRIBED WEIGHTS AND ROYAL SEALS

MIRIAM AHARONI

In view of the importance of Arad as a focus of epigraphic discoveries, it was felt that the inscribed weights and royal, *lmk* seals should also be included in the English version. The find spots of these objects, especially those in clearly stratified loci, will doubtless be of interest to scholars concerned with the interpretation of these classes of evidence in themselves as well as those interested in the history of Arad.

Shekel weights. The Arad excavations have brought to light thirteen examples of inscribed weights. They derived from Strata VI-VIII. Most of them bear the usual symbol, שקל , plus a hieratic numeral.¹ There were two of the "1 shekel" class, three of "2 shekels," two of "4 shekels," and four of the "8 shekel" category. One of the latter, No. 11, lacked the symbol but had instead a crooked line. The last two in our list, were marked by the word פִּימ , *pym*; they were not found in a stratified context. The weights and their relevant statistics are given in the table below.

[With regard to the latter two weights, there is no real reason to doubt the correctness of Ch. Clermont-Ganneau's explanation of פִּימ as the dual of פִּי .² In Zech 13:8, פִּי שְׁנַיִם means two thirds as contrasted with הַשְּׁלִישִׁית . The consonantal orthography, in spite of the exceptions already noted in the Lachish and Arad inscriptions,³

favors the view that the *yod* was not just a *mater lectionis* and that the original vocalization was *payim*, misunderstood by the Massoretes in 1 Sam 13:21, who read *pim*. Although *p* and *p'* appear in Phoenician/Punic as the name of a coin and of a small weight of silver,⁴ it is just as likely that the Semitic word had become a standard weight or unit on its own, or else that it is an entirely foreign term completely unrelated to Heb. *payim*. Given the important role of the Phoenician cities in Mediterranean commerce, there is no reason why a West Semitic term should not have gained such usage. AFR]

Royal seals. Only nine seal impressions of the *lmk* class were found during all the five seasons of excavation at Tel Arad; these were on broken jar handles of the usual type. Four of the jar handles were found in clear stratigraphic contexts from Strata VIII and VII. The first three listed below were of the "two-winged" impression bearing the inscription, למלכ, חברנ , "For the king, Hebron," Class III according to Diringer's system.⁶ Above the impression on example No. 3 there is an incision consisting of two concentric circles one inside the other, with a dot in the center. No. 4 is of the "four-winged" type, למלכ, שוכה , Diringer's Class II.⁷ Nos. 5-9 are only small fragments of jar handles; none of them were found in stratified context.

Reg. No.	Locus	Stratum	Level	Square	Weight	Description	Symbols
1.	5705/51	773	VII	75.10	J9		
2.	A546/1	69	VI		M/N13	11.54	Black stone
3.	C379/1	418	VIII	74.80	E12	22.568	White stone
4.	6515/50	905	VII	75.30	J16	22.9022	White stone
5.	643/1	360	VI	74.30	D13	22.731	Reddish stone
6.	7702/50	952	VII	74.95	J16	45.8660	Lt. Brown stone
7.	66/2	607	VI	75.40	E13	44.805	Grey stone
8.	55/1	21	VII	75.59	K16	90.15	Grey stone
9.	5602/51	779*	VII	75.45	L9	89.7510	White stone
10.	5689	779	VII	75.30	L9		White stone
11.	D25/1	605	VI	75.10	E13	94.725	Grey stone
12.	537/1					7.952	Brown stone
13.	6363/50	885		72.69	K18	7.9030	Brown stone

Reg. No.	Locus	Stratum	Level	Square	Class	Description
1.	287/1	56	VIII	74.60	K15	III Red-brown clay, white grits
2.	437/2	108	VIII	74.80	L15	III Brown clay, black core, white grits
3.	115/1	21	VII	75.40	K16	III Red-brown clay, grey core, white grits
4.	C115/1	414a	VII	75.15	G16	II Brown clay, grey core, grits and flecs
5.	413/2	429	Dismantling baulk	G12		Brown clay, grey core, white grits
6.	327/2					Grey clay, white grits
7.	422/1		Dismantling wall			Same as above
8.	61/2	415a				Brown clay, grey core, white grits
9.	6338/1	885			K18	Tan clay, grey core

[None of the *lmk* inscriptions were found on whole vessels *in situ*. The contrast between Arad and Beer-Sheba, where the *lmk* vessels are practically unknown, and other places such as Lachish, Ramat Rahel and the many Shephelah and Hill Country sites, where they are in abundance, requires some explanation. N. Na'aman⁸ sees it as a chronological indicator; he believes that Beer-Sheba II was destroyed by Sargon, some years before Lachish III was destroyed by Sennacherib. That the Arad examples, which are only stray handles, come from Strata VIII and VII, at least conforms to Aharoni's synchronization of Arad VIII with Lachish III (and Beer-Sheba II). That all of the Classes were used contemporaneously in Lachish III and that they are not to be separated from the system of stamping "private" seals on the same type of jar, has been proven by the recent excavations at Lachish.⁹ It follows, then that there is a high degree of probability in favor of Hezekiah's administration as the time when these seal impressions were inaugurated.¹⁰

As for Beer-Sheba, only one impression, and that on a pithos rather than the standard jar, was found. It is hardly credible that Hezekiah would have gone into the alliance against Sennacherib without having strong forts in the Negeb. He had expanded westward at the expense of the King of Gaza (2 Kgs 18:8; 1 Chr 4:42-43) and had done extensive building, mainly storehouses and supply centers (2 Chr 32:27-30) throughout the kingdom. Furthermore, there is nothing in Sargon's inscriptions, and certainly no suggestion in the Bible, that the Negeb suffered at the hands of that Assyrian ruler. Such action would hardly have passed unnoticed; the Negeb was too important to Judah and its fate always worthy of special notice in the eyes of Judean historians.

Therefore, the scarcity of *lmk* seal impressions in the Negeb must be due to some other factor, probably having to do with their function in the administration. For one thing, the distribution as we know it was probably influenced by the emergency measures taken in the face of Sennacherib's attack. Though many such impressions have been picked up on the surface by visitors to biblical Socoh in the Shephelah (Kh. 'Abbād, H. Sokho), none have been *lmk*, *šukh*! Such a situation is

hard to reconcile with the commonly accepted view that the place names represent royal potteries.¹¹ On the other hand, the inscription, *lmk*, designates royal property,¹² i.e. the contents evidently come from royal vineyards.¹³ The distribution of the jars to the various centers was undoubtedly part of the preparations for the war with Assyria. Some places were provisioned from the royal vineyards, e.g. Lachish, Ramat Rahel, while others were dependent on the taxes and tithes from the private estates. This can easily account for the absence of *lmk* impressions in Negeb sites.

Most royal vineyards were in the hill country, as in the days of Uziah (2 Chr 26:10). Thus, three of the place names on the impressions are from the hills: Ziph (note that Uziah had vinedressers in nearby Carmel; *loc. cit.*), Hebron and *mmš* (which we still believe is a shortened form of * *memšalt*).¹⁴ There were, however, some vineyards in the Shephelah (cf. Jdgs 14:5), so we also have Socoh, though admittedly, this might be the Socoh in the southern Hill Country (Josh 15:48). AFR]

1. Y. Aharoni, The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and Shekel Weights, *BASOR* 184 (1966), pp. 13-19.
2. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* 8 (1923), pp. 105-112.
3. Cf. Aharoni's discussion, *infra*, pp.
4. Nos. 9 and 10 were found in the same locus as the seals of Eliashib (Inscriptions 105-7); Y. Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967), pp. 102 ff.
5. W. R. Lane, Newly Recognized Occurrences of the Weight-Name *pym*, *BASOR* 164 (1961), pp. 21-23.
6. D. Diringer in *Lachish III*, pp. 542-7.
7. *Ibid.*; cf. Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, *IEJ* 14 (1964), p. 138, Pl. 33C.
8. N. Na'aman, The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), pp. 82-83; *idem.*, Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah and the Date of the LMLK Stamps, *VT* 29 (1979), pp. 61-86.
9. D. Ussishkin, Royal Judean Storage Jars and Private Seal Impressions, *BASOR* 223 (1976), pp. 1-13.
10. *Idem.*, The Destruction of Lachish by Sennacherib and the Dating of the Royal Judean Storage Jars, *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), pp. 28-60.
11. D. Diringer, The Royal Jar-Handle Stamps of Ancient Judah, *BA* 12 (1949), p. 82.
12. A. F. Rainey, Royal Weights and Measures, *BASOR* 179 (1965), pp. 34-36.
13. F. M. Cross, Judean Stamps, *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969), p. 22.
14. Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, London, 1966, p. 345.

PALEOGRAPHIC DISCUSSION

We have before us ostraca from six strata, ranging from the tenth to the sixth century B.C.E., thus making possible a precise paleographic examination of the development of the script used by the Hebrew scribes during this period.

There is comparable material of certain chronology only from the period covered by the latest two strata, i.e., the Lachish letters from the end of the monarchy (circa 588-7 B.C.E.),¹ and the ostrakon of Mesad Hashvyahu from the reign of Josiah (between 530 and 509 B.C.E.).² There are, moreover, two earlier ceremonial inscriptions whose dates are known: the Siloam inscription from the reign of Hezekiah, dated to a little before 701 B.C.E.,³ and the Mesha stone, written a short time after 850 B.C.E.⁴ These latter inscriptions are of great importance to any paleographic discussion, but it must be borne in mind that there is a difference between the cursive script of the scribes and the lapidary script, which tended to be more conservative. In addition, the Mesha stone comes from Moab, and there is no way of ascertaining if the Moabite script was the same as the Hebrew in every detail. As to earlier Hebrew cursive inscriptions, there are only the bit of palimpsest from Wadi Murabba'at in the Judean desert⁵ and the Samaria ostraca from Israel,⁶ which Cross used as data for determining the development of the cursive Hebrew script over a period of 150 years, up to the destruction of the First Temple.⁷ Aside from the paleographic examination, there are no facts which pinpoint the time of the palimpsest from Wadi Murabba'at, and the date of the Samaria ostraca is a moot question. Most scholars today tend to date them in the ninth, tenth, and fifteenth years of Jeroboam II's reign (ca. 777-771 B.C.E.), but Mazar prefers to assign them to an earlier date in the reign of Jehoahaz (ca. 806-800 B.C.E.),⁸ and there are others who choose the reign of Jehu (ca. 834-828 B.C.E.),⁹ or even of Ahab (ca. 863-857 B.C.E.).¹⁰ On the other hand, Cross accepted Yadin's suggestion to lower the dates to the reign of Menahem (ca. 737-731 B.C.E.), supposing that only the ninth and tenth years of that king's reign were meant;¹¹ and on this basis he lowered the dates of parallel documents in his discussion.¹² These theories all rest on the hypothesis that the Samaria ostraca are from the ninth, tenth, and fifteenth years of one king, whereas I believe that paleographic and historical considerations contradict the hypothesis that only five years separate the ostraca from the ninth-tenth years from those of the fifteenth year.¹³ Thus it seems more likely that they belong to regnal years of two different kings, perhaps Joash and Jeroboam II, and thus would be dated ca. 792-1 and 771 B.C.E. In any case, the difference of opinion among scholars as to the dates of these ostraca is spread out over a period of more than a century.

The situation is no better in relation to the small corpus of earlier formal and lapidary inscriptions. The Gezer calendar, the earliest known Hebrew inscription, is usually dated in the tenth century B.C.E., but only because of general considerations.¹⁴ The corpus of Phoenician inscriptions is not close enough to be good

material for comparisons, and there is wide disagreement on the dates of these texts, beginning from the inscription of Ahiiram.¹⁵

In our discussion of the paleography of the Arad ostraca, we must take into account all of the above, while not leaning too heavily on accepted opinions. The typological distinctions accepted in the study of Hebrew paleography are rooted only in a general way in definite dates, and these traditions cannot be accepted as proofs.

From Arad we have, then, for the first time a collection of cursive Hebrew documents coming from six different archeological strata. In each stratum at least a few ostraca were found in loci which are stratigraphically well-defined. The citadel of Arad is a relatively small fortress, about 50 m. x 50 m., and the floor level of each stratum rose considerably. Between the loci of Stratum VI and those of Stratum XI there is a difference in height of about 2.5 m. Thus, there is no possibility at Arad of serious stratigraphical errors of a type which are likely to occur when trying to coordinate stratigraphically different and distant areas on a large tell.

Moreover, the chronology of Arad is not based mainly on the evidence of the ostraca. The ostraca, indeed, sometimes permit a more exact pinpointing in time, especially for the latest two strata where we have allowed certain ostraca to suggest exact dates. But the considerations for dating all of the strata are first and foremost archeological and historical for which we have much precise data.

The dates given for each stratum will be discussed in detail in the report on the excavations, but we believe it necessary to present here the main considerations on which we have based the suggested dates. For our purposes, as with most other findings, the most important consideration is the date when each stratum was destroyed, since most of the ostraca come from the latter period of each stratum.

It would appear that we stand on firm ground with regard to the dates of the earliest (XI) and the latest (VI) strata. The pottery of the last Judean stratum (VI) is identical to the pottery of Lachish II, Ein Gedi V, Ramat Rahel Va and other Judean tells destroyed when the First Temple was destroyed. The script of the ostraca from Stratum VI is paleographically identical with the script of the Lachish letters, whose date is certain, as we have noted. It is thus possible archeologically to fix the date of the destruction of Stratum VI near the end of the First Temple Period, i.e., about 600 B.C.E. The jar with the inscription: "...in the third year" (Inscription 20) makes an even more precise date possible. Since this date was apparently written on a whole vessel which was found in the destruction layer, it appears to give us an exact date of this destruction. Among the last kings of Judah, the third or fourth year of Zedekiah is probably meant; this gives the year 595-4 B.C.E. as the date Stratum VI was destroyed.

There is no similar archeological or paleographical evidence with regard to Stratum XI. The pottery from this stratum¹⁶ is similar to Tell Beit Mirsim B3, to

Lachish V,¹⁷ and to Beth Shemesh IIa, but neither the dates nor the pottery types are sufficiently definitive in this period. Comparison to northern tells is difficult because of differences between various parts of the country; and in these tells, too, there is disagreement about the pottery types of the tenth and ninth centuries.¹⁸

Luckily there is a historical source from this period which precisely pinpoints the date of the destruction of the first fortress at Arad. We mean Shishak's victory list, in which the following entry appears: *h-q-r-m 'r-d r-b-t 'r-d n b-t y-r-h-m*,¹⁹ i.e., "(the) forts²⁰ (of) Great Arad (and of) Arad of the House of Yeroham".²¹ Leaving aside the question of why two forts of Arad were mentioned, and which of them can be identified with Tell Arad,²² there is no doubt that the citadel of Arad was destroyed during Shishak's campaign. Stratum XI was the first time that a royal fortress was built here; beforehand there was only a small, village settlement at this place. Thus there is no possibility of the destruction occurring later than during Shishak's campaign. The archeological data and the historical document thus combine to give an unambiguous proof of the destruction of Stratum XI in ca. 920 B.C.E.

The dates of the earliest and the latest Hebrew strata are thus completely certain, and fairly certain dates for the intermediate strata may also be suggested, based on archeological and historical considerations. The last two strata are quite close in time; very small differences exist between the ceramic types of each of these strata. The same person, Eliashib son of Eshiyahu, appears in both, and he wouldn't have held office there for more than twenty or thirty years. We concluded from the hieratic inventory list (Inscription 34) that the citadel of Stratum VII fell to the Egyptians (and *vid.* also Inscription 88). It is difficult to imagine that this happened during the reign of Josiah; moreover, we know that after Josiah's death in 609 B.C.E., the country was ruled by Egypt for four to five years. Such a date also fits in with the history of the local sanctuary: we may assume that it was in use up to the time of Josiah, and that its rites were suspended about in the middle of that king's reign when Jerusalem was reestablished as the sole place of worship. In the latest fortress built at Arad during that Israelite period (Stratum VI), the sanctuary was not only not rebuilt, but in fact the new city wall was built upon its ruins.²³ Thus it would appear that the last fortress was built after the reform of Josiah; a date at the beginning of Jehoikim's reign fits in well with all the data.

Whereas the pottery of Strata VI and VII are very similar, both together are very different from that of Stratum VIII. Close comparisons to the latter are Lachish III, Beer-Sheba II, and TBM A₂. This was a period in which many of the tells of the hill country (Shephelah) were destroyed, and all current evidence points to Sennacherib's campaign as the cause of the destruction.²⁴ Perhaps at Arad it was the Edomites who were responsible for the destruction of this stratum, since in Stratum VIII there is an inscription telling of the "evil done by Edom" (Inscription 40:15).

The pottery of Stratum IX is very similar to that of Stratum VIII, and again it is clear that these two strata

are close in time to one another. In this case, too, it appears that historical considerations can aid us in determining the proper date. In contrast to the strengthening of Judah during the reigns of Amaziah and Uzziah-Jotham on the one hand, and Hezekiah on the other, there was a period of weakness during the reign of Ahaz. In particular, we hear of various invasions of Judah during the difficult days preceding the siege of Rezin and Pekah on Jerusalem. At that time, Edom had broken free of Judean rule (2 Kgs 16:5-6) and furthermore: "...the Edomites had come and smitten Judah and carried away captives" (2 Chr 28:17). These events took place in the year 735/4 B.C.E.

Only the date of the destruction of Stratum X is difficult to determine with any exactitude. The pottery of this stratum is closer to that of Stratum IX than to that of Stratum XI, thus it would appear that the date of its destruction is not earlier than the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the eighth, B.C.E. There are, unfortunately, no archeological excavations in Judah which have clearer stratigraphical distinctions during this time. Arad X shows similarities to Hazor VII, but here again we have to be wary in drawing chronological conclusions because of the great differences between Judah and Israel during this period. Historical considerations also do not help much. Edom was lost to Judah already in the days of Joram (ca. 851-844 B.C.E.), and Judah reached its point of greatest weakness during the reign of Jehoash, when Hazael, King of Aram, marched on Jerusalem in the year 815/4 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 12: 18-19). [In fact, there are some strong indications as to the fate of the Negev in the mid-ninth century B.C.E., during the reign of Joram (Jehoram) son of Jehoshaphat, of whom it is said:

In his days Edom revolted from the rule of Judah, and set up a king of their own (2 Chr 21:8) ... So Edom revolted from the rule of Judah to this day (2 Chr 21:10) ... And the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the anger of the Philistines and of the Arabs ... they came up against Judah, and invaded it, and carried away all the possessions they found that belonged to the king's house, and also his sons and his wives, so that no son was left to him except Jehoahaz, his youngest son (2 Chr 21:16-17).

So the Judean control of the Negev enjoyed by Jehoshaphat was evidently lost during the reign of Joram/Jehoram. Therefore, it is highly likely that Arad shared in these events, Stratum X being built by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:1-2, 10-13; 19:4; 1 Kgs 22: 47-48) and destroyed under Jerom/Jehoram. AFR] Judah became stronger during the reign of Amaziah who vanquished the Edomites in the Valley of Salt and took Sela (2 Kgs 14:7), but afterwards his returning troops fell upon the cities of Judah "from Samaria even unto Beth-horon" (2 Chr 25:13).²⁵ Later on in his reign, Amaziah was defeated in battle by Joash, King of Israel, at which time Jerusalem itself was taken and part of its walls were broken down (2 Kgs 14:8-14; 2 Chr 25:17-25); this happened in the year 785 B.C.E.²⁶ It would appear that this is the latest possible date for the destruction of Stratum X; however, a date somewhat

earlier is also possible. In contrast to the dates of the other strata, which have been fixed fairly accurately, it is only possible to give an approximate date of around the year 800 B.C.E. for the destruction of Stratum X. To sum up, here is a table with the dates of the destruction of the strata discussed.²⁷

Stratum	Date of Destruction
XI	920 B.C.E.
X	800 " [or 850 AFR]
IX	734 "
VIII	701 "
VII	609 "
VI	595 "

In order to facilitate the paleographic analysis, we present here tables in which the script of each ostrakon appears separately, arranged according to strata, and numbered as in the text. Following the ostraca which are stratigraphically certain within each table, we have arranged those which are uncertain. The latter thus cannot be used as proof, but in most cases, it appears to us beyond doubt that they belong to the stratum assigned according to paleographic considerations.

The ostraca of Stratum XI are the earliest Hebrew cursive inscriptions discovered up to now. Out of the 22 letters of the alphabet, 12 appear in these inscriptions. Inscription 76 is especially important, being a large sherd found on the floor of a room in the entrance to the sanctuary, stratigraphically certain, and bearing 9 clearly written letters.

Although the letters of Stratum XI are basically similar to the Phoenician script known from the inscriptions of Byblos,²⁸ the idiosyncracies of the ancient Hebrew script are already apparent. In particular, the *zayin* and the *sade* are identical to the Phoenician inscriptions and the Gezer calendar. The *bet* is short and square, and it still lacks the rounded vertical stroke already apparent in the *mem* and *nun*. The *het* had already taken on a cursive form in which the vertical lines intersect the horizontal lines, the right one downward and the left one upward. Alongside the *het* with three intermediary strokes appears a *het* with only two, as in the Mesha stone. Especially interesting is the *kaf*, whose right-hand stroke already descends downward as in the Gezer calendar, in contrast to the Phoenician inscriptions and the early graffiti from Tell 'Ajjul²⁹ and from Tell Beit Mirsim.³⁰ The *qoph* still consists of a circle intersected by a vertical stroke, but it is clear that here already the stroke was written first and the circle added on at the top, and the whole reminds one of a spiral written from left to right.

These characteristics agree with the theory that writing was borrowed from the Phoenicians not long beforehand. However, from the beginning an independent school of Hebrew scribes was set up which preserved the script nearly unchanged during the whole period of the monarchy.

There are only three ostraca which are certainly from Stratum X, but with the addition of four ostraca similar to them in script, there are clear examples of all of the letters except *samek* and *sade*. The writing is usually cursive and more rounded, although the *bet* is still short

and square as in the previous stratum. The *waw* appears here for the first time, and is already written in its peculiarly Hebrew form, differing from that of the Phoenician *waw* and that of the Gezer calendar. Only in Inscription 66 does the archaic form appear, but its top part is written with two separate straight strokes instead of the earlier rounded top. The *lamed* has been straightened out, and has an acute angle. The *qoph* has been given its characteristic spiral top.

Special attention should be given to the short cursive "tail" ending the *zayin* and *yod*. The examples of *yod* with a "tail" are all from the ostraca which are stratigraphically uncertain, but to them can be added one of the graffiti (Inscription 101) not appearing in the comparative tables. The sherd comes from the destruction layer of Stratum X in the sanctuary. This form of the *yod* was hitherto known only from the Samaria ostraca³¹ and appears here for the first time in Judah. It is now clear that this is not a special Israelite or Samaritan form of writing, but that the tendency to add on tails to various letters appears to have chronological significance. In the inscriptions of Arad, there is no example of an *aleph* with a tail, which appears in Samaria³² and in several inscriptions from Judah.³³ It seems to me that this *aleph* also has chronological importance and belongs to the period in which there was a tendency to add tails to horizontal strokes, as in Stratum X at Arad. The script of Stratum IX is very similar to that of Stratum X. A development towards more cursivity is apparent, especially in the *bet* which has lost its square form; and the vertical strokes of the *mem* and *nun* are more cursive. The single *qoph* appearing in this stratum has kept its early spiral form written in one stroke from left to right.

Additional developments are apparent in Stratum VIII. The main differences are in the writing of the *'ayin* and the *qoph*. The circle of the *'ayin* is now written with two strokes, a nearly straight right-hand stroke and a rounded left-hand one. Cross has noted such a development in the papyrus of Wadi Murraba'at.³⁴ Similarly, the top of the *qoph* is written with two lines, left and right, instead of the earlier circular spiral. From now on, the *qoph* is written in this way in all of the later strata. Both types of *qoph* appear in the Samaria ostraca, as Cross has noted,³⁵ the first in the ostraca from years 9 and 10, and the second in the ostraca from year 15.³⁶ Thus, the difference in the execution of *qoph* occurred during the eighth century — giving us an important chronological tool. It would appear that this development is consistent and all-pervasive in the cursive Hebrew script, although in the formal and lapidary inscriptions the archaic form remains in use up to the end of the monarchy.

In the rest of the letters, a general tendency to a shortening and a rounding of the vertical lines can be noticed. The left-hand line of the *kaph* is now horizontal. The middle stroke is shortened and descends towards the horizontal stroke at the meeting point with the vertical stroke or a little to the left. In the *mem*, there is a growing tendency to round out the lower angle. The *nun* has become rounder and the horizontal stroke has been shortened.

These tendencies continue into the script of Stratum

VII, and it is impossible to point out significant changes in any particular letter. In the *yod*, the lower horizontal stroke has been shortened, and the long upper stroke rises towards the right in such a way that the two strokes form a kind of triangle open on one side. This is the type of *yod* found in the ostrakon from Mesad Hashavyahu.³⁷ The left-hand stroke of the *kaph* leans toward the left, and the middle stroke has moved to the left. Beside the *nun* which has kept its archaic form similar to that of Stratum VIII, appears a *nun* which has almost lost its top part. It should be noted that this cursive form is characteristic in the word *son*. This phenomenon is especially apparent in Inscription 31, where the scribe used two forms of *nun*: normally in the archaic form, as in the word *Neheemyahu* at the beginning of line 3, and in the shortened form in the word *son* of. In contrast, the scribe of Inscription 38 shortened the *nun* as he went along; in line 2, the *nun* was still written with the top part, although cursive and shortened, but in lines 5 and 6, the top has disappeared altogether.

The collection of ostraca from Stratum VI is especially rich, thus also the paleographic evidence is fuller. Among the ostraca, the handwriting of various different scribes can be discerned. Inscriptions 1, 2, 5, 7, and the obverse of 17 were apparently written by the same hand, and the handwriting of Inscription 24 is so similar as to make it probable that the same scribe wrote it, too. Contrast the more angular writing of Inscription 18 (written by a subordinate of Eliashib!). In addition, the writing of Inscriptions 3, 4, and 13 differs each from the other, and each would appear to have been written by a different scribe. There is a very obvious difference between the handwriting of the obverse and the reverse of Inscription 17; it is apparent that the latter, giving the date of the consignment, was added at Arad by the local scribe.

In spite of the differences in the individual hands, there is a basic uniformity with regard to the form and slant of the letters. The only letter which has changed its form considerably is the *yod*. It is interesting that this letter, which kept its form more or less throughout all the previous strata, suddenly has changed: the *yod* has lost its lower horizontal line (the "tail") and the middle horizontal line has been lengthened and crosses the vertical line. This is a consistent change found in all the ostraca of Stratum VI at Arad, and is the usual form in the cursive writing of the scribes in Judah during the end of the monarchy period, although the archaic form continued to be used in the lapidary inscriptions. Thus the form of the *yod* is an important piece of chronological evidence for this period. As Cross has noted, the archaic *yod* continues to appear sporadically,³⁸ but the findings at Arad prove that this is exceptional. Another exception is the last letter of Inscription 17; but in the same line there is a late *yod* — and it would appear that the scribe ran out of ink as he was writing the last letter, and thus added on an additional stroke which was not a direct continuation of the middle horizontal stroke.

At Mesad Hashavyahu, all clear examples of *yod* are similar to the form of that letter in Arad VII, and there

is no possibility that the scribe would use two forms of the same letter in one inscription. All the cases in which Naveh and Cross see a late form of the *yod* (lines 3 and 8) are not clear enough, and one cannot at all discern a middle horizontal line drawn straight and crossing the vertical line. This is an optical illusion produced by the shortening of the vertical line such that the short middle horizontal line almost meets the lower horizontal line where it touches the vertical line. This form was the last stage in the development of the later *yod*. It appears also in the Lachish ostraca, and the only archaic *yod* there appears in Ostrakon No. 1 and perhaps also in No. 20.³⁹ There is no reason not to suppose that Ostrakon No. 1, a list of people, is a little earlier than the others. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner) had already pointed out the very obvious difference in the handwriting of Ostrakon No. 1 (somewhat similar only to No. 8) and the remaining ostraca.⁴⁰

There is no special development of the other letters in Stratum VI. It can be pointed out that in spite of the general tendency to shorten and simplify the letters, the *het* in Stratum VI is written fully with three horizontal lines in all cases. A *het* with only two middle lines appears in Stratum XI already, and is the dominant form in Strata X and IX. It is still popular in Stratum VIII, but here we again find the *het* with three lines. In Stratum VII, the two forms appear together, but in Stratum VI, only the form with three lines. This development — a return to the source, as it were — is also characteristic of other sites. Cross, who reexamined the Samaria ostraca in the light of new photographs, found only the *het* with two middle lines.⁴¹ At Mesad Hashavyahu, in contrast, only the *het* with three lines appears.⁴²

In the *aleph*, there is a growing tendency for the vertical stroke to be written near the left edge of the angle; the angle is written with two strokes close to each other and nearly parallel. This form gave birth to the lapidary writing of the *aleph* in which the lower horizontal line is written separately only on the right-hand side of the vertical stroke. This form appears already in the lapidary writing of the second half of the eighth century, B.C.E.,⁴³ but there is no such example among the Arad inscriptions. Thus, Cross's opinion that this form was used in the cursive writing is unacceptable. All of the examples from Mesad Hashavyahu and Lachish are optical illusions, and as far as is possible to discern, both of the lines of the angle are written with a single stroke of the pen.

Comparing the Arad ostraca with the small corpus of cursive inscriptions from other sites, the following picture can be constructed:

The Lachish ostraca (aside from No. 1 and perhaps No. 8) and the Ophel ostrakon⁴⁴ parallel Arad VI. They are from the time of Jehoikim-Zedekiah, as all agree.

The ostrakon from Mesad Hashavyahu (and Ostrakon No. 1 from Lachish) resemble those from Arad VII, and this confirms their placement in the time of Josiah.

The papyrus from Wadi Murraba'at resembles the script of Arad VIII. Thus it must be attributed to the time of Sennacherib's campaign at the end of the eighth century, and this difficult time also fits the documents found in a cave of refuge in the Judean Desert.

The new ostrakon from Jerusalem, published recently

The new ostrakon from Jerusalem, published 1922/7

The comparison to incised inscriptions — such as the Gibeon inscriptions⁴⁶ or the inscriptions from a burial cave in eastern Lachish⁴⁷ — is more difficult. We cannot deal with this problem here, although it would appear that the dates ascribed to them in recent publications⁴⁸ are too late.

[illegible]

Paleographic Table, Stratum VI

The numbers at the top of the columns refer to the numbers of the inscriptions.

1. Gibson, *Textbook*, pp. 32ff., and vide three references to earlier literature.
2. J. Naveh, *A Hebrew Letter from Mesad Hashavyahu*, *Yediot XXV* (1961), p. 127; *Ibid.*, pp. 26 ff. (Heb.).
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff. and vide B. Mazar, *Enc. bibl.*, IV, col. 926 (Heb.).
5. Gibson, *Textbook*, pp. 31f.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff.
7. F. M. Cross, Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II. The Murabba'at Papyrus and the Letter Found Near Yabneh-Yam, *BASOR* 165 (1962), pp. 34-46.
8. B. Mazar (Maisler), The Historical Background of the Samaria Ostraca, *JPOS* 22 (1948), pp. 117-133.
9. Y. Aharoni, *Land*, 1967, p. 315.
10. Düringer, *Inscriptiones*, p. 651.
11. Y. Yadin, Ancient Judean Weights and the Date of the Samaria Ostraca, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1960), pp. 1-17.
12. Cross, *ibid.* (above, No. 7), p. 35. It seems that this farfetched suggestion has fallen, after it became completely clear that hieratic Egyptian numerals were used; vide Y. Aharoni, The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and Shekel Weights, *BASOR* 184 (1966), pp. 13-19. Accordingly, the reading שֵׁן[חֶסֶס עֶשְׂרֵה] is clearly the right one.
13. Aharoni, *Land*, pp. 323f.
14. Gibson, *Textbook*, pp. 1ff.
15. Vide the recent article of R. Hachman, *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 17 (1967), pp. 93ff.
16. Vide meanwhile BA 31 (1968), pp. 12f. Figs. 7-8.
17. In addition to the little material published in *Lachish III*, vide *Lachish V*.
18. L. K. Kenyon, Megiddo, Hazor, Samaria and Chronology, *London Institute of Archaeology, Bulletin* 4 (1964), pp. 143-156, which tends to give later dates to the various strata.
19. J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937, List XXXIV, Nos. 107-112.
20. B. Mazar (Maisler), *Sefer Epstein*, Jerusalem (1950), pp. 316-319 (Heb.); Y. Aharoni, Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, BA 35 (1972), pp. 112-115; Tel Beer-Sheba, *Qadmoniot* VI (1974), pp. 80-91 (Heb.); *Beer-Sheba I*, pp. 111ff.
21. B. Mazar, The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine, *VT Suppl.* 4 (1957), p. 64; Y. Aharoni, *Land*, p. 289.
22. Vid. M. Kochavi, *Yediot XXVII* (1963), pp. 232-233; Y. Aharoni, *Yediot XXVIII* (1964), p. 172 (Heb.). Tel Arad, on which the central royal fortress of the area was situated, was assuredly "Greater Arad".
23. Vide meanwhile *Yediot XXVIII* (1964) p. 170 (Heb.); and a corrected description in BA 31 (1968) p. 26; *IEJ* 17 (1967), pp. 248f.
24. Vide *Beer-Sheba I*, pp. 5-6; *Lachish V*.
25. Clearly שְׁכֵמֹת here is a mistake for one of the cities of Judah.
26. Cf. *Enc. bibl.* IV, col. 282 (Heb.).
27. In the dates which are exact to within several years, and doubt exists only as to which chronological method to accept, we have not added the designation "circa".
28. Vide *Enc. bibl.* I, cols. 393f. (Heb.); II, cols. 409f.; B. Mazar
29. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza II*, London 1932, Pl. XL: 30; F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 134 (1955), p. 23, fig. 3.
30. *Tell Beit Mirsim III*, pp. 30f.; Pl. 60:1.
31. Noteworthy is its appearance in an inscription on ivory at Nimrud, perhaps originating in Samaria; vide A. R. Millard, *IRAQ* 24 (1962), p. 45; Pl. XVIIa.
32. F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 165 (1962), p. 36.
33. Cross, *ibid.*, N. Avigad, *IEJ* 3 (1953), p. 149; 9 (1959), p. 132; Naveh, *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 87f.; W. G. Dever, *HUCA* 40-41 (1969-1970), pp. 157f.
34. *BASOR* 165 (1962), p. 40.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
36. Aharoni, *Land*, p. 323.
37. Cross, *ibid.*, p. 39.
38. *BASOR* 168 (1962), p. 21.
39. Ostrakon 20 is too faded to be certain of the details of the letters.
40. *Lachish I*, pp. 30f.
41. *BASOR* 165 (1962), p. 37; Fig. 1.
42. The proposal of Naveh and Cross that the ostrakon from Mesad Hashavyahu contains two different forms of the letter *het* — that is, that the same scribe would not write with a uniform script — is unacceptable. A *het* with three middle strokes appears clearly in lines 3, 8, and 10, too (in spite of Naveh's drawing). Only in line 9 is there a doubtful case, but here the upper line of the *het* is so thick that it appears to be composed of two strokes together. Cross finds yet another *het* with two horizontal strokes in the lowest line, where he reads דחנתן instead of דחנת in Naveh's reading (*BASOR* 165 [1962], p. 44). Cross claims that there is no *he* with two horizontal strokes, but the *het* that he draws is also unusual. It is long and narrow in contrast to the usual square form, and the upper horizontal stroke sticks out half its length again beyond the right-hand vertical stroke, an unparalleled phenomenon. The top of the nun, too, is much too large in relation to the other examples in this ostrakon. Thus it must either be a *he* as Naveh suggests with the third stroke effaced, or else it is a *waw*. It appears to me, with a closer look, that the vertical line seems to be made up of two lines, each made in a different direction — making up the top of a *waw*, and of the previous *waw* in the same line. It is interesting that Amusin and Heltzer, who read this word like Naveh as דחנת, explain it as דחנת (*IEJ* 14 [1964], p. 154), as we prefer to read it. In any case, this doubtful letter cannot be the basis for any theory that the scribe wrote the letter *het* in two different ways.
43. F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 165 (1962), pp. 37f.
44. Gibson, *Inscriptions*, pp. 25f.
45. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 22 (1972), p. 195f.
46. J. B. Pritchard, *Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibon*, Philadelphia 1959.
47. J. Naveh, Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave, *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 74-92.
48. F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 168 (1962), pp. 18-23; Idem., *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (N. Glueck, Festschrift, ed. J. A. Sandars), N.

	25	24	21	20	18	17	16	15
		✠	✠		✠	✠	✠	✠
		𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔
		𐤕	𐤕				𐤕	
		𐤖	𐤖		𐤖	𐤖	𐤖	𐤖
		𐤗	𐤗		𐤗	𐤗	𐤗	𐤗
		𐤘	𐤘		𐤘	𐤘	𐤘	𐤘
						𐤙	𐤙	
	𐤚	𐤚	𐤚	𐤚		𐤚	𐤚	𐤚
		⊕						
	𐤛	𐤛	𐤛	𐤛	𐤛	𐤛	𐤛	𐤛
		𐤜	𐤜		𐤜	𐤜	𐤜	
	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝
	𐤞	𐤞	𐤞		𐤞	𐤞	𐤞	𐤞
	𐤟	𐤟					𐤟	
		𐤠					𐤠	
		𐤡	𐤡	𐤡	𐤡	𐤡	𐤡	𐤡
		𐤢	𐤢	𐤢	𐤢	𐤢	𐤢	𐤢
	𐤣	𐤣	𐤣	𐤣	𐤣	𐤣	𐤣	𐤣

Paleographic Table, Stratum VI. Inscriptions 24, 25 are ascribed to Stratum VI by virtue of their script.

	88	39	38	37	35	33	31
	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔		𐤔		𐤔
	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕		𐤕		𐤕
		𐤖	𐤖	𐤖			𐤖
		𐤗					𐤗
		𐤘	𐤘		𐤘		𐤘
	𐤙	𐤙	𐤙		𐤙		𐤙
	𐤚						𐤚
		𐤛	𐤛		𐤛	𐤛	𐤛
						𐤜	𐤜
	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝	𐤝		𐤝
	𐤞	𐤞	𐤞		𐤞	𐤞	𐤞
	𐤟	𐤟	𐤟		𐤟		𐤟
				𐤠			𐤠
	𐤡						𐤡
	𐤢	𐤢	𐤢		𐤢		𐤢
	𐤣	𐤣	𐤣		𐤣	𐤣	𐤣
			𐤤				𐤤
	𐤥						𐤥
	𐤦	𐤦	𐤦		𐤦		𐤦
	𐤧	𐤧	𐤧		𐤧		𐤧
			𐤨				𐤨
	𐤩	𐤩	𐤩		𐤩		𐤩
	𐤪	𐤪	𐤪		𐤪		𐤪
	𐤫	𐤫	𐤫		𐤫		𐤫
	𐤬	𐤬	𐤬		𐤬		𐤬
	𐤭	𐤭	𐤭		𐤭		𐤭
	𐤮	𐤮	𐤮		𐤮		𐤮
	𐤯	𐤯	𐤯		𐤯		𐤯
	𐤰	𐤰	𐤰		𐤰		𐤰
	𐤱	𐤱	𐤱		𐤱		𐤱
	𐤲	𐤲	𐤲		𐤲		𐤲
	𐤳	𐤳	𐤳		𐤳		𐤳
	𐤴	𐤴	𐤴		𐤴		𐤴
	𐤵	𐤵	𐤵		𐤵		𐤵
	𐤶	𐤶	𐤶		𐤶		𐤶
	𐤷	𐤷	𐤷		𐤷		𐤷
	𐤸	𐤸	𐤸		𐤸		𐤸
	𐤹	𐤹	𐤹		𐤹		𐤹
	𐤺	𐤺	𐤺		𐤺		𐤺
	𐤻	𐤻	𐤻		𐤻		𐤻
	𐤼	𐤼	𐤼		𐤼		𐤼
	𐤽	𐤽	𐤽		𐤽		𐤽
	𐤾	𐤾	𐤾		𐤾		𐤾
	𐤿	𐤿	𐤿		𐤿		𐤿

Paleographic Table, Stratum VII. Inscriptions 35, 37, 38, 39, 88 are ascribed to Stratum VII by virtue of their script.

64	63	60	59	58	48	57-56	49	45	44	40
𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊
𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕
𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	𐤟	𐤠
𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩	𐤪	𐤫
𐤬	𐤭	𐤮	𐤯	𐤰	𐤱	𐤲	𐤳	𐤴	𐤵	𐤶
𐤷	𐤸	𐤹	𐤺	𐤻	𐤼	𐤽	𐤾	𐤿	𐥀	𐥁
𐥂	𐥃	𐥄	𐥅	𐥆	𐥇	𐥈	𐥉	𐥊	𐥋	𐥌
𐥍	𐥎	𐥏	𐥐	𐥑	𐥒	𐥓	𐥔	𐥕	𐥖	𐥗
𐥘	𐥙	𐥚	𐥛	𐥜	𐥝	𐥞	𐥟	𐥠	𐥡	𐥢
𐥣	𐥤	𐥥	𐥦	𐥧	𐥨	𐥩	𐥪	𐥫	𐥬	𐥭
𐥮	𐥯	𐥰	𐥱	𐥲	𐥳	𐥴	𐥵	𐥶	𐥷	𐥸
𐥹	𐥺	𐥻	𐥼	𐥽	𐥾	𐥿	𐦀	𐦁	𐦂	𐦃
𐦄	𐦅	𐦆	𐦇	𐦈	𐦉	𐦊	𐦋	𐦌	𐦍	𐦎
𐦏	𐦐	𐦑	𐦒	𐦓	𐦔	𐦕	𐦖	𐦗	𐦘	𐦙
𐦚	𐦛	𐦜	𐦝	𐦞	𐦟	𐦠	𐦡	𐦢	𐦣	𐦤
𐦥	𐦦	𐦧	𐦨	𐦩	𐦪	𐦫	𐦬	𐦭	𐦮	𐦯
𐦰	𐦱	𐦲	𐦳	𐦴	𐦵	𐦶	𐦷	𐦸	𐦹	𐦺
𐦻	𐦼	𐦽	𐦾	𐦿	𐧀	𐧁	𐧂	𐧃	𐧄	𐧅
𐧆	𐧇	𐧈	𐧉	𐧊	𐧋	𐧌	𐧍	𐧎	𐧏	𐧐
𐧑	𐧒	𐧓	𐧔	𐧕	𐧖	𐧗	𐧘	𐧙	𐧚	𐧛
𐧜	𐧝	𐧞	𐧟	𐧠	𐧡	𐧢	𐧣	𐧤	𐧥	𐧦
𐧧	𐧨	𐧩	𐧪	𐧫	𐧬	𐧭	𐧮	𐧯	𐧰	𐧱
𐧲	𐧳	𐧴	𐧵	𐧶	𐧷	𐧸	𐧹	𐧺	𐧻	𐧼
𐧽	𐧾	𐧿	𐨀	𐨁	𐨂	𐨃	𐨄	𐨅	𐨆	𐨇
𐨈	𐨉	𐨊	𐨋	𐨌	𐨍	𐨎	𐨏	𐨐	𐨑	𐨒
𐨓	𐨔	𐨕	𐨖	𐨗	𐨘	𐨙	𐨚	𐨛	𐨜	𐨝
𐨞	𐨟	𐨠	𐨡	𐨢	𐨣	𐨤	𐨥	𐨦	𐨧	𐨨
𐨩	𐨪	𐨫	𐨬	𐨭	𐨮	𐨯	𐨰	𐨱	𐨲	𐨳
𐨴	𐨵	𐨶	𐨷	𐨸	𐨹	𐨺	𐨻	𐨼	𐨽	𐨾
𐨿	𐩀	𐩁	𐩂	𐩃	𐩄	𐩅	𐩆	𐩇	𐩈	𐩉
𐩊	𐩋	𐩌	𐩍	𐩎	𐩏	𐩐	𐩑	𐩒	𐩓	𐩔
𐩕	𐩖	𐩗	𐩘	𐩙	𐩚	𐩛	𐩜	𐩝	𐩞	𐩟
𐩠	𐩡	𐩢	𐩣	𐩤	𐩥	𐩦	𐩧	𐩨	𐩩	𐩪
𐩫	𐩬	𐩭	𐩮	𐩯	𐩰	𐩱	𐩲	𐩳	𐩴	𐩵
𐩶	𐩷	𐩸	𐩹	𐩺	𐩻	𐩼	𐩽	𐩾	𐩿	𐪀
𐪁	𐪂	𐪃	𐪄	𐪅	𐪆	𐪇	𐪈	𐪉	𐪊	𐪋
𐪌	𐪍	𐪎	𐪏	𐪐	𐪑	𐪒	𐪓	𐪔	𐪕	𐪖
𐪗	𐪘	𐪙	𐪚	𐪛	𐪜	𐪝	𐪞	𐪟	𐪠	𐪡
𐪢	𐪣	𐪤	𐪥	𐪦	𐪧	𐪨	𐪩	𐪪	𐪫	𐪬
𐪭	𐪮	𐪯	𐪰	𐪱	𐪲	𐪳	𐪴	𐪵	𐪶	𐪷
𐪸	𐪹	𐪺	𐪻	𐪼	𐪽	𐪾	𐪿	𐫀	𐫁	𐫂
𐫃	𐫄	𐫅	𐫆	𐫇	𐫈	𐫉	𐫊	𐫋	𐫌	𐫍
𐫎	𐫏	𐫐	𐫑	𐫒	𐫓	𐫔	𐫕	𐫖	𐫗	𐫘
𐫙	𐫚	𐫛	𐫜	𐫝	𐫞	𐫟	𐫠	𐫡	𐫢	𐫣
𐫤	𐫥	𐫦	𐫧	𐫨	𐫩	𐫪	𐫫	𐫬	𐫭	𐫮
𐫯	𐫰	𐫱	𐫲	𐫳	𐫴	𐫵	𐫶	𐫷	𐫸	𐫹
𐫺	𐫻	𐫼	𐫽	𐫾	𐫿	𐬀	𐬁	𐬂	𐬃	𐬄
𐬅	𐬆	𐬇	𐬈	𐬉	𐬊	𐬋	𐬌	𐬍	𐬎	𐬏
𐬐	𐬑	𐬒	𐬓	𐬔	𐬕	𐬖	𐬗	𐬘	𐬙	𐬚
𐬛	𐬜	𐬝	𐬞	𐬟	𐬠	𐬡	𐬢	𐬣	𐬤	𐬥
𐬦	𐬧	𐬨	𐬩	𐬪	𐬫	𐬬	𐬭	𐬮	𐬯	𐬰
𐬱	𐬲	𐬳	𐬴	𐬵	𐬶	𐬷	𐬸	𐬹	𐬺	𐬻
𐬼	𐬽	𐬾	𐬿	𐭀	𐭁	𐭂	𐭃	𐭄	𐭅	𐭆
𐭇	𐭈	𐭉	𐭊	𐭋	𐭌	𐭍	𐭎	𐭏	𐭐	𐭑
𐭒	𐭓	𐭔	𐭕	𐭖	𐭗	𐭘	𐭙	𐭚	𐭛	𐭜
𐭝	𐭞	𐭟	𐭠	𐭡	𐭢	𐭣	𐭤	𐭥	𐭦	𐭧
𐭨	𐭩	𐭪	𐭫	𐭬	𐭭	𐭮	𐭯	𐭰	𐭱	𐭲
𐭳	𐭴	𐭵	𐭶	𐭷	𐭸	𐭹	𐭺	𐭻	𐭼	𐭽
𐭾	𐭿	𐮀	𐮁	𐮂	𐮃	𐮄	𐮅	𐮆	𐮇	𐮈
𐮉	𐮊	𐮋	𐮌	𐮍	𐮎	𐮏	𐮐	𐮑	𐮒	𐮓
𐮔	𐮕	𐮖	𐮗	𐮘	𐮙	𐮚	𐮛	𐮜	𐮝	𐮞
𐮟	𐮠	𐮡	𐮢	𐮣	𐮤	𐮥	𐮦	𐮧	𐮨	𐮩
𐮪	𐮫	𐮬	𐮭	𐮮	𐮯	𐮰	𐮱	𐮲	𐮳	𐮴
𐮵	𐮶	𐮷	𐮸	𐮹	𐮺	𐮻	𐮼	𐮽	𐮾	𐮿
𐯀	𐯁	𐯂	𐯃	𐯄	𐯅	𐯆	𐯇	𐯈	𐯉	𐯊
𐯋	𐯌	𐯍	𐯎	𐯏	𐯐	𐯑	𐯒	𐯓	𐯔	𐯕
𐯖	𐯗	𐯘	𐯙	𐯚	𐯛	𐯜	𐯝	𐯞	𐯟	𐯠
𐯡	𐯢	𐯣	𐯤	𐯥	𐯦	𐯧	𐯨	𐯩	𐯪	𐯫
𐯬	𐯭	𐯮	𐯯	𐯰	𐯱	𐯲	𐯳	𐯴	𐯵	𐯶
𐯷	𐯸	𐯹	𐯺	𐯻	𐯼	𐯽	𐯾	𐯿	𐰀	𐰁
𐰂	𐰃	𐰄	𐰅	𐰆	𐰇	𐰈	𐰉	𐰊	𐰋	𐰌
𐰍	𐰎	𐰏	𐰐	𐰑	𐰒	𐰓	𐰔	𐰕	𐰖	𐰗
𐰘	𐰙	𐰚	𐰛	𐰜	𐰝	𐰞	𐰟	𐰠	𐰡	𐰢
𐰣	𐰤	𐰥	𐰦	𐰧	𐰨	𐰩	𐰪	𐰫	𐰬	𐰭
𐰮	𐰯	𐰰	𐰱	𐰲	𐰳	𐰴	𐰵	𐰶	𐰷	𐰸
𐰹	𐰺	𐰻	𐰼	𐰽	𐰾	𐰿	𐱀	𐱁	𐱂	𐱃
𐱄	𐱅	𐱆	𐱇	𐱈	𐱉	𐱊	𐱋	𐱌	𐱍	𐱎
𐱏	𐱐	𐱑	𐱒	𐱓	𐱔	𐱕	𐱖	𐱗	𐱘	𐱙
𐱚	𐱛	𐱜	𐱝	𐱞	𐱟	𐱠	𐱡	𐱢	𐱣	𐱤
𐱥	𐱦	𐱧	𐱨	𐱩	𐱪	𐱫	𐱬	𐱭	𐱮	𐱯
𐱰	𐱱	𐱲	𐱳	𐱴	𐱵	𐱶	𐱷	𐱸	𐱹	𐱺
𐱻	𐱼	𐱽	𐱾	𐱿	𐲀	𐲁	𐲂	𐲃	𐲄	𐲅
𐲆	𐲇	𐲈	𐲉	𐲊	𐲋	𐲌	𐲍	𐲎	𐲏	𐲐
𐲑	𐲒	𐲓	𐲔	𐲕	𐲖	𐲗	𐲘	𐲙	𐲚	𐲛
𐲜	𐲝	𐲞	𐲟	𐲠	𐲡	𐲢	𐲣	𐲤	𐲥	𐲦
𐲧	𐲨	𐲩	𐲪	𐲫	𐲬	𐲭	𐲮	𐲯	𐲰	𐲱
𐲲	𐲳	𐲴	𐲵	𐲶	𐲷	𐲸	𐲹	𐲺	𐲻	𐲼
𐲽	𐲾	𐲿	𐳀	𐳁	𐳂	𐳃	𐳄	𐳅	𐳆	𐳇
𐳈	𐳉	𐳊	𐳋	𐳌	𐳍	𐳎	𐳏	𐳐	𐳑	𐳒
𐳓	𐳔	𐳕	𐳖	𐳗	𐳘	𐳙	𐳚	𐳛	𐳜	𐳝
𐳞	𐳟	𐳠	𐳡	𐳢	𐳣	𐳤	𐳥	𐳦	𐳧	𐳨
𐳩	𐳪	𐳫	𐳬	𐳭	𐳮	𐳯	𐳰	𐳱	𐳲	𐳳
𐳴	𐳵	𐳶	𐳷	𐳸	𐳹	𐳺	𐳻	𐳼	𐳽	𐳾
𐳿	𐴀	𐴁	𐴂	𐴃	𐴄	𐴅	𐴆	𐴇	𐴈	𐴉
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𐵭	𐵮	𐵯	𐵰	𐵱	𐵲	𐵳	𐵴	𐵵	𐵶	𐵷
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𐷼	𐷽	𐷾	𐷿	𐸀	𐸁	𐸂	𐸃	𐸄	𐸅	

Hieratic signs	Other signs	Sesh(?)	Ephah(?)	Lebhech(?)	Cor(?)	Hekat	Oil	Bath	Numbers	
										1
										2
										3
										4
										5
										6
										7
										8
										9
										10
										11
										12
										14
										16
										17
										18
										22
										24
										25
										29
										30
										31
										32

The numbers on the right of the table relate to the numbers of the Inscriptions.

Hieratic signs	Other signs	Sesh(?)	Ephah(?)	Lebhech(?)	Cor(?)	Hekat	Oil	Bath	Numbers	
										33
										34
										36
										38
										41
										42
										45
										46
										47
										48
										49
										60
										61
										62
										65
										67
										72
										76
										79
										81
										83
										87

Paleographic Table. Numbers and Signs

SUMMARY

The ostraca and other inscriptions of Arad comprise the richest and most varied collection of Hebrew inscriptions from the biblical period found up till now in one place. They come from various periods at the time of the monarchy, beginning from the tenth century and ending in the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E. They contain various kinds of inscriptions: epistles to commanders of Arad with military and administrative information; instructions for the supply of wine and bread to military units and other people; instructions for the sending of consignments of oil and food to various fortresses; taxes from various places; lists of people, some with the addition of numbers; lists of the apportionment of wheat and other commodities; inventory lists of the storehouses, one of them in hieratic; registration of dates; offerings and donations to the sanctuary; and various other partial lists.

This variety, both with regard to period and to the types of inscriptions, shows that this is no accidental find. It is now clear that the use of sherds as writing material was common throughout the period of the monarchy. This is true not only of faraway places and isolated fortresses, but also for the central part of the country: as we have seen, at least one of the epistles from the archive was sent to Eliashib from Jerusalem.

Arad was not unique or extraordinary in this respect. It would appear that in each of the administrative and military centers of Judah and Israel ostraca were both received and written. At least half of them would have been preserved in orderly archives, being official documents confirming instructions received, and others were preserved as receipts or vouchers for goods received or sent.

Apparently there are two reasons for the discovery of such varied archives for the first time at Arad: 1) Arad is actually the first royal fortress¹ excavated.² From the ostraca, it is clear that Arad was the military and administrative center of the area, although relatively a small fortress; and it was excavated in entirety. Surely there were similar archives in the other central cities, such as Beer-Sheba and Lachish, but it is impossible to excavate these cities in entirety, and as such the find can only be accidental. 2) The near-desert climate and the loess covering, which forms a waterproof crust, aided in the preservation of the writing. Even so, preservation was only partial. The ink was made of carbon, which is not absorbed in the clay, and is easily erased or washed away. This is no doubt the reason for the small number of ostraca found in the excavations, and their bad state of preservation. Few script remains were left in many of the ostraca, and the accident of preservation is especially noticeable in ostraca on which both sides were written (e.g. Inscriptions 3 and 24), or those which were glued together from several pieces (Nos. 13 and 21).

Here we have first-hand evidence of the strict administration, of the large number of messages, and of the orderly archives kept in Judah even in centers far away from the capitol. The uniformity of the script and its fine form show that most of the ostraca were written by

professional scribes; indeed, the writing done at Arad shows that here, too, lived a scribe experienced in the art of writing. Only a few ostraca are written in a cruder handwriting, such as Inscription 15; perhaps these were not written by professional scribes. This may be the case in one of Eliashib's ostraca (No. 4): it is written in fairly crude script, and the usual opening *וְעַתָּה* "and now" is missing.

As to the development of the Hebrew scribal script, Inscription 76 from Stratum XI is especially important: it shows that already in the tenth century the scribal script began its development in Israel. It would appear that from then on, there was a united scribal school in Judah and Israel which allowed only small changes in the forms of the letters. However, these changes, even if not essential, are uniform and identical in both Judah and Israel at least up till the eighth century.

The language is the spoken biblical tongue, and there are few words whose meaning is unclear. Some of the epistles commence with a fixed opening formula, examples of which were found in Strata VIII to VI (Inscriptions 16, 21, and 40). This formula is also known from Phoenician and Aramean inscriptions (*vid.* Inscription 16:1-3). But it differs from the opening formula of the Lachish ostraca. In spite of the biblical language, there are some idioms which appear to be from a later period, such as *אֵינָנוּ יְכוּלִים לִשְׁלֹחַ* "we cannot send" (Inscription 14:40), or *חֲרֵכְךָ חֹסֶר אֶחָד קֶמֶחַ* "send one homer of flour" (Inscription 1:7). This usage is known from the post-exilic period, and its appearance in the Arad ostraca shows that this language began to be used in everyday speech during the monarchy.

The ostraca also give evidence of a special Judean dialect.³ In Inscription 24, a weak *pe* and a *bet* were exchanged twice, indicating that these letters were pronounced similarly (*vid.* Inscription 24:17). Especially interesting are the many examples of personal names containing the theophorous element "-yahu". From among 85 different personal names appearing in the inscriptions,⁴ at least 30 are composed with the element "-yahu".⁵ In dividing them according to the various strata, the following picture emerges:

Stratum	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
"-yahu" names	14	22	13	2	2
others	9	17	21	3	11

Thus the commonly accepted theory that many more "-yahu" names appeared from the time of Josiah on (from Stratum VII at Arad) is confirmed. At the end of the ninth century, these names are still in the minority (Stratum X). There are many more in the eighth century (Stratum VIII), and in the seventh century (Strata VII and VI) they become the majority.

In this connection, two matters deserve special attention: 1) At Arad there are no names composed with the base "Baal" as in Samaria. Unfortunately, there are no personal names prior to Stratum X, but this stratum is approximately contemporary to the Samaria ostraca.

Apparently, at least beginning from the end of the ninth century, there are no more names with the base "Baal" in Judah. 2) Beginning from Stratum X, only the form "yahu" appears and in the Arad inscriptions the form "yau" common at Samaria is completely missing.⁶ Thus it would appear that this difference is not chronological, but part of the difference between the dialects of Judah and Israel.⁷ Usually the two seals of עבד יזחאל "Ebed Uziah" are brought forward as proof that in the eighth century the writing יזחאל was also used in Judah.⁸ From the Arad inscriptions, it is clear that the writing יזחאל "yahu" was the usage in Judah. These two seals are exceptional, and were perhaps engraved by Israelite artisans.

The use of yod and waw as *matres lectionis* for diphthongs also show differences between the dialects of Judah and Israel.⁹ The writing of יין "wine" and בית "house" in contrast to the Samaritan יין and בית found in the Phoenician and Ugaritic inscriptions and the Mesha stone prove that the diphthong was pronounced in the Judean dialect. Similarly, in the words עיר "city" and the names מרמרת "Meremot" and חכוס "Hakkos" the diphthong "au" was apparently preserved, although it disappeared in the traditional rendering of the Bible.

At the same time, it is now clear that in Judah there was already sporadic use of the yod as *mater lectionis* in the middle of words, beginning with Stratum VIII — and not only in diphthongs; this contradicts the hesitant assumption of Cross and Freedman.¹⁰ These scholars have already pointed to the appearance of עיר "city" and perhaps אִישׁ "man" in the Lachish ostraca, and especially of זִיפָה "Zipha" in the royal seal impressions alongside of זִיפָה. This plene writing occurs already in the four-winged seal impressions from the end of the eighth century, and has now also been discovered on a seal from Beer-Sheba.¹¹ The word אִישׁ appears at Arad twice in an ostrakon from Stratum VIII (Inscription 40:7-8). In Inscription 24, which comes from Stratum VI, the word העיר "the city" occurs, and in two instances the yod serves as a *mater lectionis* for the *Hiph'il* form of the verb: והבקים "and he shall hand them over" and להעיד "to warn". In the same ostrakon, the city קינה "Kinah" is mentioned, in which the yod may be the *mater lectionis* as in the Bible, or a diphthong, as in the word קין "spear-head".

It would seem that waw, too, appears sporadically as a *mater lectionis* in the middle of a word. Such is the case in the names קרבאור "Qerab'ur" from Stratum VIII (Inscription 24), אוריחא "Urihayu" from Stratum VII (Inscription 31), and יהודה "Judah" and probably יגור "Yagur" from Stratum VIII (Inscriptions 40, 42). The use of yod and waw as *matres lectiones* at the end of the word is usual. Examples from Stratum VI are: שלחני "send it" (Inscription 4); כצאתי "when I left" (Inscription 16); בני, "sons of" (Inscription 16); הכתי, "the Kitti" (Inscription 17); הקרוסי, "the Kerosi"; צויתי, "you commanded me" (Inscription 18); אדני, "my master" (Inscription 21); שלחתי, "I have sent" (Inscription 24). In Stratum VIII there are: כתבתני, "I have written"; אדני, "my lord"; נתתי, "I gave"; איני, "we (can)not" (Inscription 40). From Stratum IX — נסלתי, "I took" (Inscription 60), and from Stratum X — חצי, "half" (Inscription 101). He as a *mater lectionis* appears a number of times at the end of a word:

Stratum VI — העבדה, "the work" (Inscription 5); "quickly" (Inscriptions 12, 17); ביתה, "home" (Inscription 17); עשה, "has done" (Inscription 21); שמה, "there" (Inscription 24); Stratum VIII — רצה, "wanted", "you knew", הרעה, "the evil" (Inscription 40). But there are more examples in which the *he* is not written at the end of the word, such as ורתה, "and now"; ורתה, "bring" (Inscription 2); ורתה, "and you shall wrap up"; ורתה, "and take" (Inscription 3); as well as the second person singular of the prepositions and possessive pronouns (מאתך, "from you"; בנך, "your son", etc.). The use of *he* as *mater lectionis* at the end of the word expressing the *holam* is still common, e.g.: אחת, "with him" (Inscription 17:6, Stratum VI) or לבת, "his heart" (Inscription 40:4, Stratum VIII).¹²

The Central Storehouse and the Military Administration

We know the names of two of the commanders of the fortress; Malkiyahu in Stratum VIII and Eliashib son of Eshiyahu in Strata VII and VI.

From the letters, it is clear that both wielded considerable authority: a subordinate of Eliashib wrote him a letter from Jerusalem, whence he had been sent on a mission for his master, and reported to him the situation prevailing in the capital (Inscription 18). We know that Eliashib received his authority directly from the king ("And the word of the king is incumbent upon you for your very life!", Inscription 24), and that the king himself even wrote to him (Inscription 88). At some stage, Eliashib is commanded to see to Beer-Sheba, to bring provisions there, and to take inventory (Inscription 3). Possibly the authority of the commander of Arad was broadened after Beer-Sheba fell in Sennacherib's campaign (as the excavations of that city show).¹³ The strong fortress city situated on the tell of Beer-Sheba was completely destroyed at that time, and from then on, only the small settlement near the wadi continued to exist — which could boast of a local fort at the most.¹⁴

Thus it would appear that with the destruction of Beer-Sheba, Arad became the main fortress city of the Negev — which would explain the broad powers given Eliashib. He ruled not only over his citadel, but also over others in the Negev. When there was danger of an Edomite attack, he was ordered to send soldiers to Ramat-Negev — not only from Arad, but also from an additional neighboring fortress, Kinah (Inscription 24). These things were not left this time to his judgment, as was usual, but during this emergency an explicit order from the king was given, which brooked no objection. In another ostrakon, Eliashib is commanded: "and a full homer of wine, bring tomorrow on the inspection tour; don't be late" (Inscription 2). Perhaps this order related to the same emergency situation, which made it necessary for him to supply the surrounding fortresses quickly. Both Arad and Lachish were seats of government responsible for nearby cities and fortresses (Inscription 2:5). Apparently part of the military administration at Arad and Lachish saw to it that a daily round of these fortresses was made, in which inspection was made, supplies were brought, information exchanged,

and orders given (Inscription 2:5-6). The instructions to accomplish this "quickly" show that the writer had to be less than a day's journey away from Arad. Possibly the army commander was camping in the south at this time and sent the letter as an emergency measure in the face of some imminent danger.

Perhaps the area governed by the commander of Arad was enlarged during the seventh century; but essentially the same power was wielded already in the previous century by Malkiyahu. A commander of a neighboring fortress, Gemaryahu, was subordinate to him and there was daily contact between the two fortresses (Inscription 40). In the eyes of his subordinate, Malkiyahu was the authority who received news meant to be passed on to the king of Judah, Hezekiah. In Gemaryahu's epistle to Malkiyahu, an exchange with Edom is mentioned — thus we believe that Gemaryahu was the commander of Ramat-Negev on the border of Edom, as mentioned in Inscription 24.

Another epistle, unfortunately fragmentary (Inscription 26), mentions an Edomite name ending in the theophorous base "-kaus". In the second line of this letter is written the title אדני שר. שר is the title of the commander of the fortress at Mesad Hashavyahu, and the writer of that ostrakon addresses him similarly as אדני שר, "my lord, the commander".¹⁵ His power is both military and judiciary-administrative.¹⁶ Since at Arad the definite article is missing before the noun שר, it appears that this is only the first word in a title, such as שר הארץ, "commander of 1000", שר המאה, "commander of 100", etc. We do not know if Eliashib himself was meant here, or perhaps someone sent on a mission by him. However, Eliashib would have certainly been given a similar title. As commander of a border area, he and his antecedents governed the road to Edom.

One of Eliashib's important tasks was the responsibility for the royal storehouse at Arad. This storehouse took up the northeastern part of the citadel, and it, along with the sanctuary, were the two large and most important buildings within the citadel. From the ostraca, it is clear that in spite of its limited area, Arad was a central place for storage and supplies, עיר מסכנות, a "granary city", in biblical language.¹⁷ From the inscriptions, we learn for the first time how such a storehouse was run. Moreover, from the amount of supplies apportioned to the military forces passing through, we can conclude something about the size of these forces and the organization of the network of fortresses in the Negev.

The ostraca tell of three types of commodities kept in the storehouses: flour (or wheat, and probably barley), wine, and oil. These commodities are also mentioned in the Bible in connection with royal stores, such as — in the time of Rehoboam — "And he fortified the strongholds, and put captains in them, and stores of victuals, and oil and wine." (2 Chr 11:11). Or from the time of Hezekiah: "storehouses also for the increase of corn, and wine, and oil" (2 Chr 32:28). "The wheat and the barley, the oil and the wine" (2 Chr 2:14) are the typical export items from the biblical period.

We do not have many details about the method of gathering the commodities, such as registration of the

receipt of amounts of wine and oil from various places and areas in the Samaria ostraca.¹⁸ Yagur and Hazar-susah, mentioned in two ostraca (Inscriptions 32; 42) are towns in the Negev district (Josh 15:21; 19:5). In one of the ostraca, amounts of grain, apparently barley, are noted as coming to Arad from three places (Inscription 25): Lower 'Anim, Upper 'Anim, and Ma'on. Although these towns are not far from Arad, they are part of the mountain area: 'Anim in the southwestern section (Josh 15:50), and Ma'on in the southeastern section (Josh 15:55). It would appear, therefore, that Arad was the administrative center for the collection of taxes from a fairly large area in the south of the country. Some of the consignments apparently were part of the tithes for the sanctuary, and it would appear that Arad remained the center for the collection of tithes even after its own sanctuary ceased to function. This is evidenced by one of Eliashib's letters in which the word עשר, "tithe" appears (No. 5). If our reading is correct, then the wet measure, the bath, is meant — probably wine brought as tithe to Arad "before the month passes".

Also pertinent to this matter of bringing wine as tax or tithe to a central fortress is the ostrakon from Beer-Sheba, in which certain amounts of baths of wine apparently are brought from two neighboring areas.¹⁹ Cf. also from the days of Hezekiah: "the first fruits of corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and all the increase of the field; and the tithe of all things brought they in abundantly" (2 Chr 31:5).

Many of the ostraca contain personal names, some of them with the addition of numbers and amounts of grain. Undoubtedly, most of them are lists of commodities, however, there is usually no indication whether they were received or handed over. Aside from the hieratic ostrakon (No. 34), the *hekal* measure appears also in Hebrew ostraca (Inscriptions 25; 33; 60). חסם, "wheat" is named in two ostraca (Nos. 31, 33), and it appears that one of these is a list of the apportionment of amounts of wheat to various people (Inscription 31). Other signs also appear in these ostraca, apparently standing for the ephah and the homer measures. In Inscription 33:2, the *hekal* measure appears alongside of these signs; possibly barley was usually weighed according to the Egyptian *hekal*, whereas wheat was weighed in Hebrew ephahs.

From the archives of Eliashib, we have detailed knowledge of the apportionment of commodities from the storehouses. From the epistles, it is clear that various people and military units passed through Arad and received their provisions there. For this purpose, they were given authorizations at the commencement of their journeys, in which were written specific instructions as to the types and amounts of provisions they were to be given. These authorizations lack the name of the sender, thus in most cases we do not know where they were written. We have seen that they were sent from a place nearby, and since in most cases provisions for military units are meant, it appears that they were sent from the camp of the commander-in-chief. In one of the letters from a subordinate of Eliashib, he adds information about a man who is in the House of the Lord, no doubt

in Jerusalem (Inscription 18). In this case, it is clear that the people bearing the authorization came from Jerusalem, and perhaps in other cases as well.

A few of the epistles contain only information as to the provisions to be given the bearer, but in most cases, the writer used the opportunity provided to add to these authorizations other information or instructions. Clearly, the right of the sender to determine the amount of provisions given the bearer at Arad was not connected to his status in relation to Eliashib. In most of the letters, the instructions written show that the sender was of higher status than Eliashib. But in one letter, for instance, a man by the name of Hananyahu orders Eliashib to take command of Beer-Sheba (Inscription 3). Another letter (No. 16) opens with the words "your brother, Hananyahu"; if this is the same man, then their respective ranks in the administrative hierarchy must have been similar. On the other hand, Eliashib's subordinate also had the power to equip the bearers of a letter with instructions for receiving provisions at Arad ("Give Shemaryahu a lethech [?] and to the Kerosi give a homer [?]" — Inscription 18:4-6).

Thus it would appear that anyone sent on a state mission would receive an authorization for receiving provisions at key fortresses. Apparently only presentation of such an authorization permitted the commander of the fort to hand over provisions from the storehouse, and they were kept as receipts. The scribe at Arad added the date of the transfer of goods to the authorization ("write the name of the day", Inscription 1:4). This date, which was preserved on the reverse of one of the ostraca, is written in a handwriting different from that on the obverse: "on the 24th of the month..." (Inscription 17:7). Since the name of the month is not written, it may be supposed that once a month there was an inventory made by the royal scribe, and the authorizations were preserved up to this examination.

On two ostraca the date was written on which they were to get the provisions, as well as the date up to which these provisions were supposed to last (Inscriptions 7, 8). In Inscription 7, the provisions were given on the first of the month, and the writer adds: "and write before you on the second of the month". Perhaps from this we can conclude that the first of the month was the day designated for the taking of inventory, and on this day provisions were not given out. On this special occasion, Eliashib was ordered to give the provisions on the first of the month, and to take inventory on the second of the month.

People usually received wine and flour or bread. These are the basic provisions mentioned also in the Bible as provisions for the road (cf. Gen 14:18; Josh 9:4-5; Judg 19:19; 1 Sam 10:3; 16:20; 25:18; 2 Sam 16:1-2). In several ostraca, oil was also mentioned, but was not given as provisions for travelers, but sent sealed to its destination (Inscriptions 4, 7, 10, 14, 17). The amount of the oil was indicated by a numeral alone, without noting the type of measure. Apparently there was a fixed vessel used for consignments of oil (an oil-nebel, as written in the Samaria ostraca), and this vessel was sealed with a clay stopper on which a seal was impressed (vid.

Inscription 4:1-2). In most cases, we do not hear what was the designation of the consignments of oil; in two cases the oil is carried by the Kittiyim (Inscriptions 4, 17), and in Inscription 17 a man by the name of Nahum was ordered specially to go to Arad in order to take care of sending oil to Ziph — apparently the southern town of that name (Josh 15:24). Evidently the oil was sent to be used as provender for the various fortresses. It was used primarily for lighting, but also for preparation of food and cosmetics.²⁰

In contrast to the Samaria ostraca, in which סכרית was named, at Arad "oil" appeared without an additional qualifier. The same is usually true of wine, in contrast again to Samaritan יין.²² However, in two ostraca there is an additional designation for wine: ייןאגנות — apparently a type of wine kept or diluted in special bowls (Inscription 1:9-10), and possibly ייןאחז — a poor type of wine sent in large quantities during an emergency (Inscription 2:7). [Unless real vinegar is meant. AFR]

In the ostraca, sometimes flour is mentioned, and sometimes bread, and once even dough (Inscription 3). It would appear that the management of the storehouse was responsible not only for the receipt and storage of commodities, but also for their preparation and apportionment by instruction. These activities included the milling of the wheat to flour, preparation of dough, and baking of bread. Apparently the baking was not done at the citadel, but nearby — since in two cases Eliashib is ordered to send flour in order to bake bread (Inscriptions 1, 5). In both cases, a particular type of flour is named: קמח ראשון. Since this had to be flour suitable for making bread, probably what was meant is the rougher flour from the first milling, in contrast to the finer sieved flour called סלה (cf. 1 Kgs 5:2). But perhaps a type of specially fine flour was meant, from the grain of the early harvest of a fine quality (vid. Inscription 1:5-6). In one ostraca, dough was wrapped and brought by a pair of donkeys to Beer-Sheba (Inscription 3). Since it is more difficult to transport dough than flour, it would appear that bread was needed urgently. The distance from Arad to Beer-Sheba (30 km. as the crow flies) can be traversed in one day of energetic marching. If the dough was prepared at Arad, it would have arrived at Beer-Sheba raised and ready for immediate baking.

In many ostraca, Kittiyim are mentioned as recipients of the supplies. As we have seen (Inscription 1:2), these people were mercenaries of Aegean origin, and this is the first evidence we have that in this period there were Aegean-Greek mercenaries in the service of the kingdom of Judah. There is evidence that already in the middle of the seventh century Greek mercenaries served in Egypt,²³ and the Greek pottery found at Meşad Hashavyahu and Tell Malhata (vid. above, Inscription 1:2) shows that there was a close connection with Greece or Greeks in Judah, too. At Arad, no Greek pottery was discovered, and it is natural that this pottery would be more common on the seashore than within Negeb fortresses. However, even the ostraca do not necessarily prove that the Kittiyim lived in Arad, only that they passed by the fortress on their way to more southerly fortresses, perhaps those lying on the border itself. Inscription 2,

especially, illuminates this point: this ostraca gave the Kittiyim provisions for "the four days", i.e., a march of four days from Arad. Probably the destination was Kadesh-Barnea. The distance from Arad to Kadesh-Barnea is about 110 km. measured along the easiest road, along which a chain of Israelite fortresses has been discovered.²⁴ A march of 25-30 km. a day is reasonable for the traffic of ancient times. At Kadesh-Barnea there was a large citadel which existed up to the end of the First Temple;²⁵ and after Elath was lost in the days of Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:6; 2 Chr 28:17), it was no doubt the most southerly fortress of Judah.

The designation "the four days" enlightens us as to the organization of the network of roads and fortresses in the Negeb. If it was possible to say "the four days" with the definite article, it means that there was a definite organization of the transport in the Negeb based on units of distance per day. Probably the stopovers for the night on the Arad-Kadesh-Barnea road were at Beer-Yeroham (11-12 on the map of the fortresses),²⁶ 'Avdat (8-9), and Be'er-Hafir (7, 15). At these places there were wells, fortresses, and connected buildings — necessary services for the traveler in the desert.

This organization was also reflected in the Bible. Travelling south from Beer-Sheba, Elijah was said to have walked "a day's journey into the wilderness" (2 Kgs 19:4). In the story of the Exodus from Egypt, "three days' journey" is mentioned several times (Ex 3:18; 5:3; 8:23; 15:22; Num 10:33; 33:8), but we do not know which road is meant. However, in two cases in the Bible it is possible to estimate the distance of the roads named: 1) The kings of Israel and Judah journeyed to fight Mesha the king of Moab a "seven days' journey" (2 Kgs 3:9). It appears that this is no typological number,²⁷ but the real distance of the journey from Jerusalem to the capitol of Moab, Kir-Hareseth. The distance from Jerusalem via Zoar to Kir-Hareseth is circa 160 km.²⁸ and via Tefleh the distance is about 170 km. This would divide up into a daily march of about 25 km. for each of the seven days. 2) "It is eleven days' journey from Horeb unto Kadesh-Barnea" (Deut 1:2). The distance from Kadesh-Barnea to Nebi Şallah, the intersection in southern Sinai near Jebel Musa, is 300 km. Here, too, a daily march of nearly 30 km. was given. From this we learn that in Judah there was a network of roads in the southern deserts protected by fortresses, and distances on it were measured by daily marches of nearly 30 km. This system was similar to the one used in Mesopotamia at that time, where there was an organization of resting stations at an average aerial distance of 27 km. from each other.²⁹

We can also draw conclusions as to the size of the units of Kittiyim that passed through Arad. For a march of four days, 300 loaves of bread and 2 baths of wine were given (Inscription 2). The unit of Kittiyim which carried this ostraca thus received 75 loaves per day. The only place in the Bible which defines a daily ration of bread, states that Jeremiah received one loaf of bread per day when he was imprisoned by Zedekiah (Jer 37:21). Of course, the prisoner was allotted a minimal portion, which is the reason why it is mentioned in the Bible —

but military units travelling in the desert no doubt also took with them only minimal provisions, since any surplus load would be difficult to carry. Therefore it is possible that this unit of Kittiyim which received 75 loaves of bread per day numbered 75 persons.

Another possibility is that each man received two loaves per day, and thus the unit would number 35-40. This is more likely when taking into account the weight of the bread and the number of calories per man per day, and if we suppose that the bread and the wine were given in a more or less fixed proportionate amount. In Inscription 2, two baths of wine and 300 loaves of bread were given to the Kittiyim. In Inscription 1, three baths of wine and one cor (homer) of flour were given them. Since the amount of wine here is greater by 50%, we may suppose that the same ratio holds true for the bread, thus the flour should be enough for baking 450 loaves of bread. It is accepted that the cor or homer measure contained 220 kg., thus giving a loaf of a little more than half a kilogram. An adult needs about 3000 calories per day, and 100 grams of bread contains about 250 calories. A man whose caloric intake is supplied almost entirely by bread would need 1.2 kg. of bread per day. A portion of two loaves per day would fit these figures.

This calculation would also fit in with another piece of biblical information. When King David fled from Jerusalem during the rebellion of Absalom, "behold Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth met him, with a couple of asses saddled, and upon them two hundred loaves of bread, and a hundred clusters of raisins, and a hundred of summer fruits, and a bottle of wine" (2 Sam 16:1). Since one donkey could carry a load of 200 loaves, their weight couldn't have been more than 100 kg. altogether. It should be noted that the ratio between the quantities of bread and wine are similar to that in the ostraca. A nebel of wine contained about 40-50 liters, thus the amount of wine brought to David by Ziba was about 2 baths, a little more than was given to the Kittiyim (2 baths and 300 loaves of bread). The usage was also similar in both cases: "the bread and the summer fruit for the young men to eat, and the wine, that such as are faint in the wilderness may drink" (2 Sam 16:2).

According to the amount of provisions given them, then, it is possible that the unit of Kittiyim mentioned in Inscription 2 is a unit of 50, whereas the one mentioned in Inscription 1 is a unit of one hundred. Two such regular military units are also apparently mentioned in Inscription 24:11-12. Of course it is possible that a "division of fifty" numbered in fact only 35-40 men, as would seem to be the case from Inscription 2, and the "division of one hundred" would also not necessarily number exactly a hundred men.

Aside from the name Arad, appearing in two ostraca (Nos. 24 and 99; and perhaps in No. 48), some additional place names are recorded. Two of them are doubtful, and even if their reading is correct, they appear without additional information either of themselves or of their relation to Arad: [Ya]gur (Inscription 42) and Yanum (Inscription 19).

One of the consignments of oil is destined apparently

for Ziph (Inscription 17). Probably, as we have seen, this is the southern town by that name (Josh 15:24), which was perhaps one of the Negeb fortresses within the region of the Jerahmeelite Negeb. Consignments of the grain were sent to Arad from three settlements in the southern Judean mountain region (Inscription 25): Lower 'Anim, Upper 'Anim, and Ma'on. Apparently Hazar-Susah (Inscription 32) and Yagur (Inscription 42) in the Negeb region are named in connection with payment of taxes.

With regard to two places mentioned in Inscription 24, there is important additional information about the role of Arad, i.e., Ramat-Negeb and Kinah. Kinah was subject to the commander of Arad, and he was ordered to send forces from Kinah to Ramat-Negeb. Unfortunately, the number of men sent is missing on the ostrakon, and we have tentatively completed it as one hundred. Ramat-Negeb was the first place open to attack by the Edomites, and the commander(s) of Arad (Eliashib?) was ordered to send reinforcements urgently there from Arad and Kinah. These reinforcements were sent to Ramat-Negeb under the command of an officer named Malkiyahu, son of Qerab'ur, and were there placed under the commander of Ramat-Negeb, Elisha, son of Jeremiah. From this we gather that Arad was the central fortress of the area, and other fortresses, such as Kinah, were subordinate to her. Arad was the central city of the Judean border area, but was not itself on the border. The outer fortress on the border with Edom was Ramat-Negeb.

Kinah is named in the list of the cities of the Negeb region in Joshua 15:22, after Eder³⁰ (which is certainly a mistake for Arad) and Jagur. Its name is usually connected to the Kenites, who settled in the Negeb of Arad (Judg 1:6), and is supposed to be near Wadi el-Qini ("the Kinah stream") which descends to the Dead Sea southeast of Tel Arad.³¹ It is logical to assume that the name of this stream is connected also with the Kenites; however it is unnecessary to assume that the city Kinah was close to the stream, since the traces of the Kenites were likely to remain in several places around the Arad Negeb. At the headwaters of the brook of Kinah are ruins called Horvat 'Uzza, which according to new information, might be the remains of Ramat-Negeb.

According to our information, Kinah was a fortress and was not far from Arad. The most suitable site is Horvat Tov, 5.5 km. north-northeast of Tel Arad (Reference No. 1639/0817). We have described the place in our survey on the first season of excavations at Arad.³² On two hills, on two sides of an ancient well, were built a village on the one and an Iron Age fortress on the other, a bit smaller than the citadel of Arad. This is the most important site near Arad during the Israelite period, and its village and fortress suit its role as a place for the concentration of military forces near Arad.

Ramat-Negeb is known from two biblical verses: from the list of cities to which David sent the spoils of the Amalekites (Ramoth of the "South" — 1 Sam 30:27), and from the list of the cities of Simeon (Ramah of the "South" — Josh 19:8).

Neither of these two places in the Bible gives enough information in order to identify the site. From the list of

the Amalekite spoils, we learn only that it existed and was relatively important already in the time of Saul, but there is no discernible geographical order to this list. In the description of the territory of Simeon, the place is said to be on the boundary of the tribe, but it is not pinpointed. After the list of cities comes the statement: "and all the villages that were round about these cities to Baalath-Beer, as far as Ramah of the South" (*ibid.*). In the parallel passage in 1 Chronicles 4:33, appears the version: "and all their villages that were round about the same cities, unto Baal". Do Baal/Baalath-Beer and Ramat-Negeb define the same border, or are they in different areas? The Septuagint B translates: *ἕως βαπεκ πορευομένων βαμεθ κατά λίβα* i.e., "up to Baalath before Ramat-Negeb". According to this version, Baal(ath) and Ramat-Negeb (Ramah of the South, the Negeb) are two points in the same area.³³ It appears that our new information does not support the version of the Septuagint. It is now clear that Ramat-Negeb is a strategic point on the border with Edom, i.e., in the southeastern border area of the Judean Negeb. In the definition of the boundaries of Simeon, an additional southern border point would have to be given, and it appears that this was Baal/Baalath-Beer.³⁴

Whatever the connection between Baalath-Beer and Ramat-Negeb, our new information defines more precisely the site of Ramat-Negeb and as such clears up the biblical text. If this is the first place an Edomite attack would come, to which reinforcements are sent from Arad, it is no doubt closer to the border than Arad, and should be sought to the south or southeast of Arad.

The list of the cities of Simeon (Josh 19:2-7; 1 Chr 4:25-32) is a part of the list of the cities of the Negeb region of Judah (Josh 15:31-32). For purposes of geographical analysis, it does not matter if this was a section taken out of the more complete list,³⁵ or if this was an original short list to which were added on the other parts of the Negeb.³⁶ This region includes mainly the environs of Beer-Sheba, neither reaching southwards to Aroer (Adadah) nor eastwards to Arad (Eder), cities which are included only in the list in Joshua 15. Thus it now appears that Ramat-Negeb does not designate the border of Simeon's limited area, but rather the limits of the Israelite settlement of the Negeb up to the border with Edom — which included the Kenite Negeb, the Jerahmeelite Negeb, and others. The addition: "and all the villages that were round about the same cities" thus designates large areas, whose cities were not part of the cities of Simeon. Their settlements were called "חָרָוִי" — a general term, suiting the hot and more retarded character of this area. At least some of these settlements were no different essentially from the towns of Simeon, such as Arad, Aroer, and Ramat-Negeb. The boundaries of these חָרָוִי appear in Joshua 15 at the beginning of the list of the cities of the Negeb, and among them Baaloth (Josh 15:24) — which is perhaps Baal/Baalath-Beer — also designates their southern border.³⁷

These considerations make more likely the identifications of Ramat-Negeb with Horvat 'Uzza, about 9 km. south-southeast of Tel Arad. At this place, an Iron Age fortress was discovered, about the same size as the citadel



Map of sites in the vicinity of Arad

of Arad.³⁸ Its plan is very similar to that of the fortress of Kadesh-Barnea and to that of the fortress of Stratum VI at Arad, in which the ostraca of Eliashib were found. We found there a great many sherds from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E., and there is no doubt that the large fortress, in its latest form, was built in the latter days of the monarchy.³⁹ Remains of terraces and other structures were found at the foot of the fortress, mainly on the steep northern slope. In this area we gathered many sherds, mostly from the eighth-seventh centuries, but some of them from the tenth-ninth centuries B.C.E. On the other side of the stream, on a low hill surrounded by a bend in the stream, at the foot of the fortress to the north, we found remains of houses covering a large area. In spite of all our efforts, we found no sherds in the area, apparently because of the erosion in this low place. The form of the buildings is reminiscent of an Iron Age village, such as the large village at Tel Masos.⁴⁰

Thus, at Horvat 'Uzza there was a fortress and a village next to it, similarly to Tel Arad and Horvat Tov. The fortress, in its latest form, is from the end of the Iron Age, but the village was founded apparently in an earlier stage of the Iron Age. The time of the settlement thus fits what we know of Ramat-Negeb, although its beginnings still need further investigation.

The large fortress at Horvat 'Uzza was built at the top

of the mountain, at the southeastern edge of the "Arad Negeb", and it is clearly visible from Tel Arad and from most of the places in the area. This is a lookout point which suits the name Ramah/Ramot ("high place"). At its foot begin the steep slopes leading down to the Dead Sea. It governs the source of the Brook of Kinah, which is one of the easiest ways down into the Arabah. Additional fortresses from the Iron Age have been discovered in the lower portion of this stream.⁴¹ The placement of the large fortress shows that in this period here was the beginning of the main road descending to Edom, called in the Bible "the Way of Edom" (2 Kgs 3:20).⁴² The fortress governed the way up, blocked the entrance to the Arad Negeb, and was the first point open to Edomite attack. Its lofty position above the Arad Negeb, its place at the edge of the area of settlement in this part of the country, and its strategic position on the Edomite border are all data which peculiarly suit the different extant sources.⁴³ Horvat 'Uzza is not far from Arad; only two or three hours by foot. This does not weigh against the identification. There is no reason to suppose that the men were sent on a long journey, especially since the reinforcements were sent not only from Arad, but from places to the north, also, such as Kinah. The determining factor is that to the south, in the area between Horvat 'Uzza and Aroer, no other Iron Age site has been discovered.

It would appear that the role of Arad among the Negeb fortresses, as reflected in the ostraca from the days of Eliashib, did not change appreciably during the whole of the period of the monarchy, although it was enlarged with the fall of Beer-Sheba (Inscription 3). Malkiyahu, who was the commander of the citadel in Stratum VIII (end of the eighth century B.C.E.) according to Inscription 40, also held a high rank and received his instructions from the king of Judah. Gemaryahu, commander of a neighboring fortress which received messages and information from Edom, was in daily contact with Malkiyahu and was under his orders. Thus it is possible to assume that Malkiyahu, too, governed the neighboring fortresses in the area and the relations with Edom.

We have no information from earlier periods, but the continuation of the existence of the fortress at Arad from the tenth century, and its similar characteristics throughout the centuries, show that no great difference occurred in its role. This is no doubt the reason that in spite of its small area, the citadel of Arad is called already in the days of Solomon: *h-q-r-m-'r-d-r-b-t* ("fortress of Greater Arad"), in the inscription of Shishak.⁴⁴

The Administration of the Sanctuary

The most important building within the fortress of Arad is the sanctuary, which was established along with the first citadel in the tenth century B.C.E. (Stratum XI) and continued to exist up to the seventh century B.C.E. (Stratum VII).⁴⁵ It is very natural that some of the ostraca are connected to the administration of the sanctuary, which doubtless needed written records of its services, tithes, etc.

Many of the ostraca are lists of personal names, some with the addition of numbers and signs. Perhaps some of these, or even most of them, belong to the administration of the sanctuary, but there is no way of knowing. The places where they were found are scattered all over the citadel, and do not tell us anything about their role. A concentrated archive of the sanctuary was not found, and thus it is possible to establish their connection with the sanctuary only in two ways: 1) ostraca found within the shrine itself or near it; 2) those whose contents show that they had some role in the rites. Here we shall present all of those ostraca whose relationship to the sanctuary is beyond doubt, even though they teach us very little about the administration of the sanctuary.

The most interesting group are eight ostraca from Stratum VIII, on each of which only one personal or family name was written (Inscription 50-57). Some of them were found in a room next to the Holy of Holies (Locus 469) and some were found on the slopes of the tell at the foot of the sanctuary.⁴⁶ Thus it would appear that these "notes" came from the sanctuary, and some were thrown out onto the slopes beyond the walls. Only two of them contain a personal name with the patronymic (Eshiyahu son of 'Ezer; ... el son of Hushai). Two contain one name with the prefix "son of" (son of Hemda; son of Netanyahu). Four contain only one name, two of which are known as priestly names from the Bible (Meremoth; Pashhur) and two are hitherto

unknown names (Pashyad (?); Yishpat [but more likely Yohaphat! AFR]).

From the place they were found, and from their contents, it is clear that these ostraca are connected with the rites of the sanctuary, but unfortunately we cannot be certain of the exact function.⁴⁷ Our conclusion, that they have to do with the casting of lots for the priestly watches (*vid. above*, pp. 85-87), is of course only a hypothesis. However, the very fact of finding these ostraca in the sanctuary and connected to it is extremely interesting. The regular Yahwistic names, and especially the Judean priestly families among them, is evidence for the Yahwistic character of the sanctuary of Arad.

Inscription 49, also from Stratum VIII, apparently also belongs to the sanctuary; it was found in a building next to the entrance to the sanctuary together with Inscription 53, which was one of the "lots". This is a bowl on which names and numbers were written close together all around, with lines separating the columns of names. Apparently the writing was done on a whole bowl. This may have been a list of offerings to the sanctuary. It contains names, some of them family names beginning with the prefix *bn* "son of", with the addition of numbers. After two of the names the letter *het* is written between the name and the number (lines 12-13), and we suggested that this is an abbreviation either for *šen* "wheat" or *šmā* "sin-offering", one of the types of sacrifices. Especially interesting are the four names written on the base of the bowl: "Sons of Besal 3; sons of Korah 2; son of Gilgal 1; sons of Koniya 1". None of them are personal names, but rather family names beginning with *bn*. Korah is a well-known Levite family, one of the poets in the Temple; eleven psalms are ascribed to composition by this family. "Son of Gilgal", especially, is no regular name. We know of no family by this name, but there is a holy place where a sanctuary existed up to the days of Amos (Amos 5:4), perhaps the well-known Gilgal near Jericho.⁴⁸ It would appear that the "son of Gilgal" is a servant of that sanctuary; this is also the only one of these names in which *bn* appears in the singular. Possibly these four names designate men whose professions are connected with the sanctuary; but there is no information which can help us determine the kind of work they did and the reason for the numbers which follow the names. Is it coincidental that the numbers are arranged in descending sequence? And what is the explanation for the appearance of the last name (sons of Koniya) without a number?

Possibly this building, which stood near the entrance to the sanctuary, served as its sacristy. A list similar to Inscription 49 may be Inscription 76 from Stratum XI, which was found in the same room, and contains a list of names beginning with "son of" and amounts of *hekals*, the Egyptian grain measure.

Several incised inscriptions were found in the courtyard of the sanctuary. Of special interest are two offering bowls found near the altar, on each of which were incised two similar signs (Inscriptions 102-103): *qoph*, which we believe stands for *qrbn* "sacrifice" or *qsh* "holy", and a sign made up of three strokes intersecting or meeting each other. We noted similar engravings from

the Late Bronze Age sanctuary at Kāmid el-Lōz, and on stone vessels from the Herodian period, with the inscription *qrbn* found near the Temple Mount in Jerusalem; above the *qoph* there is a sign similar to that incised on the two bowls from Arad. It is difficult to believe that this is coincidental; we think this was an ancient tradition which appeared in places differing from each other in time and place.

There is also an engraved inscription *qsh* "holy" (No. 104), not found in the sanctuary. From the courtyard comes the inscription *šn* "half" (No. 101), apparently written on a vessel which contained a standardized half-portion approved by royal authority.

The sanctuary fell into disuse with the religious reformations of Hezekiah and Josiah, and was not rebuilt in Stratum VI. Moreover, a casemate wall was built upon the ruins of the sanctuary, in one of the rooms of which the archive of Eliashib was found. In spite of the disuse of the sanctuary, certain matters pertaining to religious administration continued to be dealt with at Arad, as can be seen from some of the Eliashib ostraca. One of the ostraca tells of bringing tithes "before the month ends" (Inscription 5:12-13). Inscription 23 from Stratum VI is a list similar in content to Inscriptions 49 and 76, which were concerned with the administration of the sanctuary. In one of the letters provisions are supposed to be supplied to the Kerosi (Inscription 18:5-6); this is the name of one of the families of Nethinim, of the workers of the Temple. Probably this Kerosi, who came to Arad and received there provisions, is employed in his usual ritual capacity. In the same inscription, the "house of the Lord" is mentioned (Inscription 18:9). We have explained that undoubtedly the Temple in Jerusalem was meant. The connection between the clerks at Arad and the Temple reminds us of the biblical verse concerning the Levite administration: "For all the business of the Lord, and for the service of the king ... for every matter pertaining to God, and for the affairs of the king" (1 Chr 26:30, 32).

Historical information

The contents of most of the ostraca are connected to the civil, military, and ritual administration of the citadel; however, they also contain valuable historical information. Although very little is explicitly stated, some information can be gathered from indirect references. Thus, for the first time, excavations in Eretz-Israel have yielded details on different historical events in the context of a specific site — which teach us something about the whole country.

From Inscription 40, we learn that the commander of the fortress of Stratum VIII (the end of the eighth century B.C.E.) was Malkiyahu. He had a great deal of authority, and the writers of the letter, Gemaryahu and Nehemyahu were subordinate to him. It appears that Gemaryahu was the commander of a fortress situated on the road to Edom, which was in daily contact with Arad — perhaps Ramat-Negeb (*cf.* Inscription 24). Gemaryahu received his instructions from Malkiyahu, commander of Arad, who was in direct contact with Jerusalem. In this letter he wrote of "the evil which Edom has done",

because of which the communications by road were interrupted. The "king of Judah" mentioned in this epistle is apparently Hezekiah. Probably, during the preparations for the rebellion against Assyria, Hezekiah raided Edom (1 Chr 4:42-43).⁴⁹ Consequently relations with Edom worsened, and Edom in turn took advantage of Judah's weakness at the time of Sennacherib's campaign.

We learn how Stratum VII fell from Inscription 34, an inventory of the storehouse, written by an Egyptian scribe in hieratic. The commander at this time was Eliashib, son of Eshiyahu, and three of his seals were found in a room along with the hieratic ostrakon. Eliashib would not have kept an Egyptian scribe; and in fact other lists are written in Hebrew, such as Inscription 33 in which the word *šen* "wheat" appears several times. From another ostrakon we learn that a Hebrew scribe was available to Eliashib (No. 17:7-8).

Thus we conclude that the fortress of Stratum VII fell to the Egyptians, and that they emptied the storehouses before setting fire to it. The stock in the storehouses was counted and properly noted down by an Egyptian scribe. The totals were no doubt given to the Egyptian authorities, but the first draft, made in the scribe's room of the citadel of Eliashib, was left there.

Since the commander of the fortress of Stratum VII was the same Eliashib who appeared in the ostraca of Stratum VI,⁵⁰ it is clear that both strata were close to each other in time. Stratum VI is close to the end of the First Temple period, both according to the pottery and to its script, which is identical to the script of the Lachish letters. Thus it appears that Stratum VII fell to the Egyptians a short time beforehand.

These considerations lead us to propose that Stratum VII was destroyed in the year 609 B.C.E., the year Josiah was killed and Jehoiaqim crowned by Pharaoh Neco. The Egyptians conquered Eretz-Israel in this year, and they demanded a heavy tribute from their protégé Jehoiaqim (2 Kgs 23:35; 2 Chr 36:3). The decisive battle was fought far in the north, and there was no need to make a siege of Arad and the other Negeb fortresses, which doubtless surrendered when the kingdom fell and a new king was crowned by the Egyptians. The Egyptians did not favor the existence of Israelite fortresses in the Negeb, and not surprisingly ordered them destroyed. But before the destruction of the citadel of Arad, the stock of the storehouse would have been taken over by the Egyptian clerks. From this, we can understand how the commander of the fortress left the place, but returned after a short time when the Egyptian rule was crushed and the land fell to Babylonia.

The citadel of Stratum VI, therefore, was built ca. 604 B.C.E. This is the year that Nebuchadnezzar gained control over the country, and assuredly Jehoiaqim quickly refortified his southern borders, after "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken, from the Brook of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt" (2 Kgs 24:7). Probably at this time, the Babylonians favored the renewal of the fortifications of the vassal land against Egypt.

The last citadel fell in the third or fourth year of Zedekiah's reign, according to the jar on which was written *השליש* "in the third year" (Inscription 20) — since the writing of the date could not have preceded by more than a few months the time of the destruction. Thus, Arad fell in the year 596/5 and the last citadel existed for no more than ten years. In his fourth year, Zedekiah was compelled to appear at Babylon at the head of a delegation from Judah (Jer 51:59), apparently after the failure of a rebellion organized by Jerusalem along with neighboring kingdoms (Jer 27:3; 28:1). This agitation and the political crisis following it can explain why cities in Judah were destroyed, especially as the fortresses of the Negev were always the first victims in time of civil and military weakness.

It seems that Inscription 24 tells us who put an end to the last citadel of Arad. Information reached Jerusalem that an Edomite army was making its way over and beyond the Negev fortresses. Perhaps they exploited the weakness of Judah to settle old scores, and perhaps the Babylonians sent neighboring countries against the cities of Judah, as was done a few years before when Jehoiaquim rebelled (2 Kgs 24:2; Jer 35:11).⁵¹

Eliashib was ordered to send reinforcements urgently from Arad and from neighboring Kinah to Ramat-Negev, which was the first fortress open to the Edomite

threat. This command was accompanied by a grave warning: "And the word of the king is incumbent upon you for your very lives!" No considerations of Eliashib or his people were allowed to interfere with the decision of Zedekiah. It turned out that the preparations and the reinforcements of Ramat-Negev were useless, and when it fell, the rest of the fortresses — including Arad — were laid open to Edomite attack. Thus it now appears that the destruction of the cities of the Negev and their occupation by Edom did not occur in the year 598/7, as is popularly held,⁵² but rather some three or four years later.

Even though some of these suppositions are of necessity only hypotheses, still we have here before us real historical information for the first time about the role and the fate of one of the important centers of Judah during the last one hundred years of the monarchy.

We could not have expected a more surprising confirmation to our historical hypotheses than the epistle of Jehoahaz (Inscription 88), in which he announces his crowning, insists on energetic military preparations, and mentions the king of Egypt. This is full confirmation of the destruction of Stratum VII in the year 609 B.C.E., and an additional proof of the high position of Eliashib, who received his instructions directly from the king.

57. And not Baalah (*באלה-בלה-בלה*) appearing among the cities of Simeon. It might have been expected that Ramath-Negev should appear in the list of the cities of the Negev of Judah in Joshua 15, being an important city in this area during the whole of the period of the monarchy. Since there are many mistakes in this list, the question arises whether "Dimona", named between Kinah and Aroer (*הרוד*) is not a mistake for Ramah-Negev. Since the exchange of the letters *resh-dale* and *waw-taw* are common mistakes in the ancient Hebrew script, there is some similarity between the names. Text B and most of the manuscripts of the Septuagint write *πρυμα* (= Ramah?). The form *רמחנה* may have been influenced by the Dibun of Nehemiah 11:25; usually the two names are identified as one.

58. Y. Aharoni, *Judah and Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1957, pp. 53f. (Heb.).

59. The plan of the fortress gives the impression that it was built in two stages, and possibly in the beginning there was a small fortress without towers; *vid.* Y. Aharoni, *Elath*, p. 57, n. 7. (Heb.).

40. Y. Aharoni, V. Fritz, and A. Kempinsky, *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974), pp. 68ff. (Heb.).

41. Y. Aharoni and B. Rothenberg, *In the Footsteps of Rebellious Kings*, Tel Aviv 1960, pp. 13f. (Heb.).

42. Aharoni, above (n. 36). It should be noted that the new Arad-Sodom road has been paved on the same general path.

43. There is no basis for Lemaire's suggestion to identify Ramat-Negev with Kh. Gharrah, *vid.* Ostraca, p. 361ff. The name Ramat-Negev points to a high place, but not "une hauteur au centre du Negev". Kh. Gharrah is neither on the border of Simeon, nor on the border of the Israelite settlement, nor on the border with Edom. If

soldiers were sent from Arad and Kinah to Kh. Gharrah, the whole of the Negev of Arad would be open to Edomite attack. In addition, his suggestion that the Edomite army would have advanced from the south has no basis. In this area no sites were discovered which could have served as Edomite bases for this attack, and we have seen that Kadesh-Barnea in this period belonged to Judah. There is also no reason to suppose that Tel Malhata belonged to Edom at the same time that a Judean fortress existed at Arad. The Edomite pottery found there could have arrived by means of commerce, and at most it can be theorized that the fortress at Tel Malhata continued to exist for a few years under Edomite rule after the fall of Arad.

44. As to the term *שן*, *vid.* *Beer-Sheva* 1, pp. 111ff.

45. *Id.* above, Inscription 18-6, n. 10.

46. Perhaps an additional ostraca, found in the courtyard of the sanctuary, should be added to them; it is also from Stratum VIII, but is illegible.

47. We have no interpretation for the *שן* written in Inscription 55 after the name Ben Hemda.

48. *Enc. bibl.* II, cols. 487-490.

49. *Id.* Aharoni, *Land*, p. 337.

50. It is difficult to imagine that he is one of his ancestors, since not only his name, but his father's name is identical.

51. In the beginning, I thought that the Edomite attack occurred at that time; *vid.* Aharoni, *Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad*, *Eretz-Israel* IX (1969), p. 15 (Heb., Eng. sum. p. 134).

52. *Cf.* Jeremiah 13:19, and *vid.* A. Alt, *FJB* 21 (1925), p. 108; repr. *Kleine Schriften* II, pp. 280f.

1. I use the modern term "fortress" in contrast to "city". In biblical terminology, the fortress is included in the concept of "city", and the special term used is *בזר*; *vid.* *Enc. bibl.* IV, cols. 633f. (Heb.).
2. Apparently similar to it is the fortress of Ramoth Gilead, excavated partially by P. W. Lapp, *vid.* *RB* 1968, pp. 98-105.
3. M. Heltzer (*Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 31 [1971], p. 195) suggests that this is a phenomenon unique to southern Judah.
4. Some appear several times.
5. In some names, the completion is uncertain.
6. Except perhaps Inscription 89, but possibly this should be completed *Jonah*, *Joseph*, or something similar.
7. *Cf.* Noth, *Personennamen*, p. 104ff.
8. Düringer, *Isritioni*, pp. 221ff. And *vid.* lately S. Yeivin, *Two Words of Mishnaic Hebrew in the Biblical Period*, *De-Vries Memorial Volume*, Jerusalem 1969, pp. 306-306 (Heb.).
9. *Id.* D. N. Freedman, *The Orthography of the Arad Ostraca*, *IEJ* 19 (1969), pp. 52ff.
10. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, Baltimore 1952, pp. 51, 54ff.
11. *Beer-Sheva* 1, pp. 76f.
12. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, New Haven 1952, p. 57.
13. *Beer-Sheva* 1, pp. 5f., 107.
14. *Id.*, pp. 115ff.
15. J. Naveh, *Yediot XXV* (1961), p. 120 (Heb.).
16. A. Lemaire, *L'ostrecon de Mesad Hashavyahu (Yavne-yam) replacé dans son contexte*, *Semiotica* 21 (1971), p. 62.
17. *Cf.* *Enc. bibl.* V, col. 165-167.
18. Gibson, *Inscriptions*, pp. 5ff.
19. *Beer-Sheva* 1, pp. 71-73.
20. K. Galling, *Biblische Reallexikon*, Tübingen 1937, pp. 402-403.
21. Gibson, *Inscriptions*, pp. 8ff.
22. *Id.*
23. *Id.* references *apud* Naveh (*IEJ* 12 [1962], p. 98), and *vid.* K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, Warminster 1973, p. 402.
24. *Id.* Y. Aharoni, *Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev*, *IEJ* 7 (1967), p. 11. This is "the way of Atharim" mentioned in Num 21:1 in the story of the spies.

25. *Id.* M. Dothan, *The Fortress at Kadesh-Barnea*, *IEJ* 15 (1965), pp. 139-141.
26. *Id.* (footnote 24), p. 10.
27. As in the journey of Jacob from Haran, Gen 31:23.
28. The Roman road from Jerusalem to the area of Kir-Moab was 220 km.; *vid.* Y. Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel* V (1959), pp. 131-132 (Heb., Eng. sum. p. 91*). There were 121 Roman miles (178 km.) from Rabbah to the junction where the road to Jerusalem-Haluza branched off, and from this the distance from Kir-Moab to Rabbah has to be subtracted, and the distance to Jerusalem added. The Roman road passed through Ein-Hush, thus was farther away from the ancient road which passed near the southern tip of the Dead Sea; *vid.* Y. Aharoni, *The Negev of Judah*, *Judah and Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1957, p. 56 (Heb., Eng. sum. p. V).
29. *Id.* W. M. Hallo, *The Road to Emar*, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 57-58.
30. *Enc. bibl.* VI, col. 372.
31. F. M. Abel (*Géographie de la Palestine* II, Paris [1938], pp. 417f.) suggested identifying it with Kh. es-Samrah, which lies 5.5 km. from Arad; but this site is from the Chalcolithic period, *vid.* N. Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, New York 1959, pp. 53-56.
32. *Yediot XXXVII*, p. 233 (Heb.); *vid.* also Y. Aharoni, *Elath*, Jerusalem 1963, p. 60 (Heb.).
33. In text A, there is an interesting phenomenon putting both versions together: "Up to Baalath-Ber Ramoth on the road to Ramath-Negev".
34. This is the reason that Ramath-Negev, too, was always sought in the middle Negev, such as Abel's proposal (above, note 31, p. 431) to place it to the south of Haluza. Abel positions Baalath-Ber near Bir 'Asluj (*ibid.*, p. 258). I considered identifying it with Beer Yeruhim, whose environs were sanctified from the Middle Bronze Age (B. Rothenberg, *Taglioth Sinai*, Tel Aviv 1958, p. 124-127 [Heb.]; M. Kochavi, *Yediot XXVII* [1963], pp. 283-292 [Heb.]), and near it the largest Israelite fortress in the Negev was discovered (*Elath*, p. 69 [Heb.]; *IEJ* 17 [1967], p. 7), and *vid.* Y. Aharoni, *Macmillan Bible Atlas*, map no. 121.
35. W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 4 (1924), pp. 149ff.; M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, Tübingen 1953, pp. 113f.
36. In my opinion, *vid.* Y. Aharoni, *The Negev of Judah*, *Judah and Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1957, pp. 46-58.

THE ARAMAIC OSTRACA FROM TEL ARAD

JOSEPH NAVEH

The corpus of the Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions from the Persian Period has been enriched in the last few years by many tens of ostraca. The great majority of them have been found at Tel Beer-Sheba and at Tel Arad.¹ These texts reflect the character of the settlements in the south of Palestine. Whereas the Aramaic ostrakon found many years ago at Tel el-Far'ah in the northwestern Negeb shows the extent of agriculture in that area,² the ostraca from Beer-Sheba indicate that there was an administrative center to which grain was brought as taxes,³ and the ostraca from Tel Arad portray the existence of a way-station where barley was supplied to horsemen, horses, and donkeys. The personal names mirror the make-up of the population in the south of the country. Accordingly, these finds serve as important historical evidence for a period poor in historical sources.

At Tel Arad, about one hundred ostraca were found with Aramaic script or traces. Most of the ostraca are very poorly preserved; only a few sherds are legible in their entirety. However, since the formulae used are generally much the same from one ostrakon to the other, we can often reconstruct the text even when the script is

faded. This study is devoted to the 42 sherds on which at least one word is legible, to one inscription written on a jar (No. 43), and to two ostraca written in scripts unusual at Arad (Nos. 44-45). We also publish here the photographs of most of the sherds for which we do not offer a reading (Nos. 46-85); from the few traces on them, it is likely that most contained texts similar to those of Inscriptions 1-37.⁴

The Aramaic ostraca of Arad (aside from Nos. 44-45) belong to the fourth century B.C.E.; apparently to the middle of that century. Lacking other data, this assumption is based on paleographic criteria only.⁵ At any rate, these ostraca are contemporary to the Aramaic ostraca found at Beer-Sheba.

In the following, each sherd is presented by means of a photograph, a transliteration of the text, a translation, and a commentary. Usually we have tried to refrain from reconstruction within the transliteration of the text, in order that the unquestioned text would stand out clearly. A reading which is not certain is indicated by a dot over the uncertain letter or numeral. Suggestions for completions are sometimes given in the commentary.

Inscription 1



Qaus...; 1 horse,
1 donkey; barley: 4 seahs, 3 qabs.
Yaddua' on the 7th (of the month?)

קוס... סוסה 1
חמר 1 שם 4 ק 3
יודע ב 7

קוס — The first word in this ostrakon (as for instance in Nos. 2-4, 13) is a personal name. The first three letters designate the name of the Edomite god, Qaus. It is thus a theophorous Edomite name (cf. also Nos. 10, 20-21, 32-33, 43). The fourth letter, even though it is not long enough, is probably a nun. The last letter is either *het* or *he*. Thus, the name may be either קוסנה or קוסנה. The root *נח* is not common as part of a theophorous name (although it stands alone in such names as *נח* Noah

and *נח* Manoah). If one of our reconstructions of the name is correct, then it is possible that it is an abbreviation: קוסנה may be a shortened form of קוסנחם; קוסנה is perhaps an abbreviation for some name like קוסנחם or קוסנחם (cf. below, No. 20). Or should the name be קוסנה (Aharoni's suggestion)? — As noted, the reading of the last two letters is uncertain.

סוסה = horse — The Aramaic absolute state of this noun is סוסה; its determined form is סוסה. Cf., for example the Nabatean graffito from Wadi Mukateb in Sinai describing a horse engraved in the rock: דנה סוסיה די, "עבר שעולה בר אעלא", "This is the horse which *š'd*thy son of 'T' made".⁶

1 סוסה = one horse.

1 חמר = one donkey.⁷

3 שם 4 ק 3 — this is an abbreviation for 3 שם 4 ק 3 i.e.: 4 seahs and 3 qabs of barley. *Shin* also stands for barley in the Beer-Sheba Aramaic ostraca, on the sherd from Tel el-Far'ah,⁸ and in the papyri from Elephantine.⁹ *Samek* is seah (cf. Beer-Sheba, Elephantine,¹⁰ and Edfu¹¹). *Qoph* as an abbreviation for qab(s) occurs in the list of commodities found in Wadi Murabba'at.¹² In one seah there are six qabs; in none of the legible Arad ostraca does the number of units after the *qoph* exceed 4, and usually the number of qabs is 3, i.e., half a seah.¹³

יודע = Yaddua' (biblical Jaddua) — a Hebrew name, which also appears in ostrakon No. III from Lachish (ידע),¹⁴ in Nehemiah 10:21; 12:11,22, in Josephus' *Antiquities* XI, 302f. (a high priest contemporary to Alexan-

der (the Great), and in a graffito on an ossuary lid from Bethphage.¹⁵ As to the identity of Yaddua' at Arad, see below, p. 174.

73 — The most common usage of the letter *bet* before a numeral is in designating dates, more precisely — the day of the month. It is thus used in the ostraca from Beer-Sheba and the Elephantine papyri; e.g., Beer-Sheba ostraca No. 1: לחמנו 142.¹⁶ In the Arad Hebrew Inscription No. 16 is written: ... לחמנו 242; and in No. 1, the recipient of the letter is commanded to write the name of the day. Who wrote down the date here? — for this, see below, p. 174.

— This sign appears in most of the ostraca formulated similarly to ostraca No. 1; see below, p. 174.

1. I herewith wish to express my thanks to the late Prof. Aharoni for the privilege of publishing this important material.
2. J. Naveh, Two Aramaic Ostraca of the Persian Period, *Bible and Jewish History — Studies Dedicated to the Memory of J. Liver*, Tel Aviv 1973, pp. 184–186 (Heb.).
3. J. Naveh, The Aramaic Ostraca, Beer-Sheba I, *Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba 1969–1971 Seasons* (ed. Y. Aharoni), Tel Aviv 1973, pp. 79–82, Pls. 35–38.
4. See below, p. 169, the discussion for Nos. 46–85. We do not pre-



sent the photographs of those ostraca on which only traces of ink are present, because it is impossible to identify even one letter.

5. See J. Naveh, The Development of the Aramaic Script, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. V/1, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 43–51, fig. 9.
6. *C.I.S.*, II, No. 890.
7. *bet* in Aramaic may also be wine; indeed, in the Hebrew ostraca from Arad, wine is an important part of the supplies given. However, in the context of the Aramaic inscription, and because there is no measure given after the word, but only numerals — the translation of *bet* as donkey is inevitable.
8. See above, notes 2–3.
9. Cowley, No. 24; No. 63:2; Kraeling, No. 17:3–5.
10. Kraeling, No. 17:3–4.
11. Cowley, No. 81:2, 93, 134, 136.
12. J. T. Milik in P. Benoit et alii, *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (*Discoveries in the Judean Desert II*), Oxford 1961, p. 88.
13. For the *seah* and *qab* measures, see: F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, Berlin 1882, pp. 449–457; R. B. Y. Scott, *Weights and Measures in the Bible*, BA XXII (1959), pp. 29–32.
14. N. H. Torczyner (Tuṣ-Sinai), *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters*, London 1938, pp. 51, 62.
15. J. T. Milik, *Le couvercle de Bethphage, Hommage à Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, pp. 75–94.
16. In the Hebrew ostraca from Arad, the letter *bet* is used as an abbreviation for "bath" (the measure for liquids), but in our context, it does not seem appropriate.

Inscription 2

... nyh; 1 donkey; barley: 4 seahs.
Yaddua' on the 8th (of the month?).

... ניה חמר 1 שם
ודוע ב 8

גייה. — The first two letters of the name are unclear. The second letter looks like a *samek*, but differs from the *samek* which appears after the *shin* (if it is a *samek*, and not a *qoph*?). The first letter may be a *het*, which would give us: חסניה. However, if we take into account the faded vertical stroke on the left side of the second letter, it may be a *lamed*; and the first letter would perhaps be a slightly erased *mem*. If so, it gives us the reading: מתניה Mattaniah (?), a common name in the Bible.

Inscription 3

'bdm/k; 1 horse;
Barley: 1 seah. Yaddua' on
the 7th (of the month?).

עברמלך סוסה 1
שם 1 ודוע ב 7

Inscription 4



'bdm/k; barley: ... seahs.

עברמלך — a common name in the Canaanite world; in the letters of Tel-Amarna,¹⁷ at Ugarit,¹⁸ in Cyprus,¹⁹ and mainly in the Punic inscriptions.²⁰ But עברמלך can also be an Arabic name. It appears in Sabaeen inscriptions²¹ and in an Aramaic inscription from Hatra (where it is written: עברמלך).²²

17. S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tel el-Amarna Tablets*, 1–11, Toronto 1939, Nos. 123–37; 203:3.
18. Aistleitner, p. 225.
19. *C.I.S.*, I, No. 46 = Donner-Röllig, No. 35.
20. Benz, p. 155.
21. Harding, p. 400.
22. Donner-Röllig, No. 253.

Inscription 5



Give to Peda'el barley: 1 seah.
Yaddua' on the 5th (of the month?).

הב למדאל שם 1
ודוע ב 5

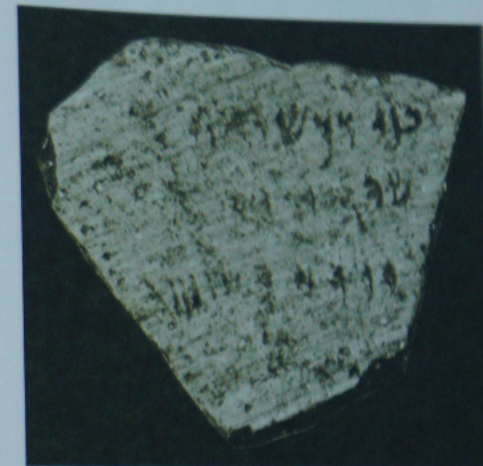
הב למדאל = Give to Peda'el: — Similar expressions can be found in the Hebrew ostraca: נתן לכתים. The imperative הב seems to be the key to the understanding of most of the Aramaic ostraca of Arad; see below, No. 9 and the discussion on p. 174.

מדאל is a personal name, either western or south Semitic. It appears in the Bible (מדאל Pedahel, Num 34:28) and in a seal which is either Phoenician or

Aramaic (or Ammonite?);²³ it is apparently also the name of the Ammonite king in the days of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.²⁴ However, מדא is also a common name in the Safaitic inscriptions. Instead of מדא one may read מדא; this name is found in the South Arabian inscriptions (mainly Safaitic and Qatabanian).²⁵

23. A. Reitenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals*, London 1950, No. 80.
24. ANET, pp. 287, 291; see also F. M. Cross, *CRQ* 36 (1974), pp. 493–4.
25. Harding, p. 463 (מאב); p. 487 (מאב).

Inscription 6



12 colts;
Barley: 1 seah, 3 qabs.
Yaddua' on the 7th (of the month?).

בני רכש 12
שם 1 ק 3
ודוע ב 7

רכש = colts. בני רכש is a horse or horses harnessed to a chariot (Mic 1:13) or swift post horses (Esth 8:10, 14). In 1 Kings 5:8 we find: "Barley also and straw for the horses and swift steeds" (רכש). In one of the letters of Arsham (from ca. 410 B.C.E.) one finds the instructions: עמיר לקבל רכשה, i.e.: "(to give) hay according to (the number of) his horses".²⁶ This word also appears in an Aramaic letter from the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. found at El Hibeh in Middle Egypt.²⁷

For the combination בני רכש "sons of horses", cf. בקר "calf" (Gen 18:7); בני יונה "young pigeons" (Lev 12:8). This combination is also used in Aramaic. For example, Targum Onkelos translates the word נול "young bird or pigeon" in Genesis 15:9 as בני יונה. Moreover, this usage also designates the smallness of inanimate nouns: in the Peshitta, the word חל "bulwarks" in Isaiah 26:1 is translated בר-שירא, i.e., "a small wall".

The sign for the number 10 is unclear. Perhaps the

letter *he* should be read instead. If we accept this version, then the reading would be: 2 בני רכשה "2 colts". In this case, the additional *he* can be the designation for a collective noun, and of דגה "fish", as a group; תצריסוסה "Hazar-susah" (Josh 19:5) = תצריסוסים "Hazar-susim" (1 Chr 4:31). But this reading is less likely than the first. רכש itself is a collective noun, and there is no need for an additional *he*.

26. Driver, No. 6:4.

27. E. Bresciani, *Un papiro aramaico da El Hibe del Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, *Aegyptus* 39 (1959), pp. 3-8; J. T. Milik, *Lettre araméenne d'el-Hibeh*, *Aegyptus* 40 (1960), pp. 79-81.

Inscription 7



The horsemen of Eliashib —
10 men; crushed (barley):
... seahs. Yaddua'
on the 7th (of the month?).

פרשו אלישיב
גברין 10 דקור
ס... ידוע
ב 7

פרש in the Bible is either a horse or its rider (usually in military capacity). In Aramaic texts — perhaps aside from the Zakkur inscription²⁸ — the word means "rider". The following line in this ostrakon — 10 גברין — shows that here people are referred to, i.e., horsemen. The whole expression 10 פרשו אלישיב גברין means: a unit of 10 horsemen whose commander is Eliashib.

דקור — This word appears in Inscriptions 7-11. Since it stands before *seah*, instead of the usual ש (barley), it must designate some type of commodity. In Syriac, the verb דקר in the *pe'al* has three definitions: "to stab", "to gore", and "to beat" (in an extended meaning: "to pound", "crush").²⁹ In Pahlawi, this root as an Aramaic ideogram stands for the Persian word *kōftan* (= "to crush").³⁰ דקור is a passive participle, apparently meaning crushed (barley). Its Hebrew translation would be כחוש. In the Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 74a, it is said: עני אוכל פתו בלא כתישה "A poor man eats his bread without pounding (the grain before grinding)"; i.e., the barley

was not crushed in order to remove its husks. Barley "without the husk" (בלא קליפתה) is also called תרסלא (Yoma 79a; Sanhedrin 27a). חשל "to beat, to crush" in biblical Aramaic (Dan 2:40). In biblical Hebrew, crushed barley is called רשמת (2 Sam 17:19; and especially Prov 27:22). Crushed barley is not animal feed, thus at Arad דקור was supplied to the horsemen.³¹

28. Donner-Röllig, No. 202b:2.

29. K. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halle 1928, p. 164b.

30. M. J. Mashkur, *The Huzvarish Dictionary*, Teheran 1968, p. 29 (reprinted from H. F. J. Junker, *Frahang-i Pahlavik*, Heidelberg 1912).

31. See Y. Felix, *Agriculture in Eretz-Israel in the Period of the Mishnah and Talmud*, Tel Aviv 1963, p. 252 (Heb.); Y. Felix, *Rice in Talmudic Literature*, *Bar-Ilan* 1 (Yearbook 1963), pp. 181-182 (Heb.). My thanks to Prof. Felix for our discussion on this matter.

Inscription 8



The horsemen.....

škwy.....

...crushed (barley): 3 seahs, 1 qab.

Yaddua' on the 8th (of the month?).

פרשיא ב... יא

שכו.....

... דקור 3 ק

ידוע ב 8

— the faint remains of the letters in the second word may indicate the reading בחכריא, i.e., the determined plural form of the word חכר (a group, or a military unit?). On the other hand, the element *bar* occurs in Persian meaning literally "bearer" (e.g., *ganōz-bar* = bearer of treasures; treasurer). Perhaps the reading בחכריא can be suggested; בו may indicate *bāji*, which means "tax" in Old Persian. בחכריא = tax-bearers, perhaps a certain rank.³² Meanwhile, neither suggestion is completely satisfactory.

שכו — According to the context, this word should be a personal name. Parallel to Inscription No. 7, "the horsemen of Eliashib", we suggest completing: פרשיא שכו "the horsemen... [of] škw". And indeed

the name שכו has been found on a Hebrew seal from the fourth century B.C.E. (contemporary to these ostraca) found at Tel Michal near Herzliyah.³³

The stain at the beginning of line 3 is apparently an erasure.

32. The word בוֹכְרִי occurs in Aramaic texts from Persepolis; see R. A. Bowman, *Ritual Texts from Persepolis*, Chicago 1970; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Ritual Texts or Treasury Documents?* *Orientalia* 42 (1973), p. 456. In the matter of the Persian words *kōftan* and *bāji*, I had the advice of Prof. Shaul Shaked.

33. This seal will be published soon by Prof. N. Avigad; I thank him for his permission to mention it here.

Inscription 9



הב ל... דקור 10
לשלום... דקור 10
ידוע ב 6

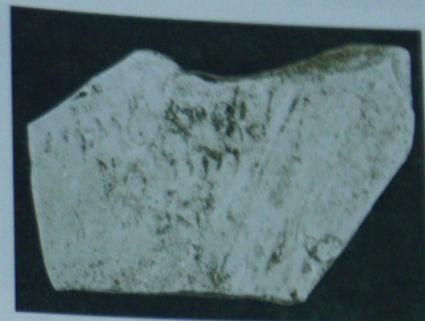
Give to... crushed (barley): 10 seahs.

To Shallum; crushed (barley): 10 seahs.

Yaddua' on the 6th (of the month?).

It is difficult to read the first line. At the beginning of the second line, apparently, לשלום "to Shallum" is written. After this word there are remains of a sign similar to the numeral 20. At the end of the second line, after the numeral 10, there are two vertical lines which may represent the number 2. However, it appears more likely that these strokes are part of the sign. If so, then this sign appears twice here. Thus it seems that this ostrakon contains two instructions to give crushed barley to two different people, and I have suggested to read line 1 accordingly.

Inscription 10

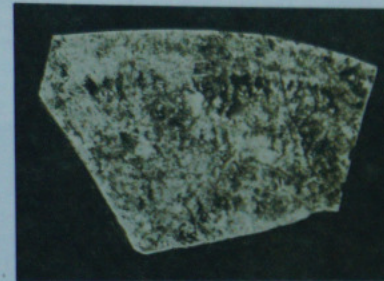


..... qaus;
crushed (barley): 2 seahs

קוס.....
דקור 2

The first and the third lines are difficult to read. Relying on the traces of single letters, we assume that the entire text may be reconstructed as follows: קוס דקור: 2 [פרשי...]
[ידוע ב...]
[To the horsemen of...] qaus, crushed (barley): 2 seahs, [Yaddua' on...].

Inscription 11



A horseman (?); crushed (barley): 4 seahs

חֲרֵשׁ דִּקְרוֹ 4

The first two letters may also be *resh* and *kaph*, and then the first word would be רכש. However, if the reading דקור is correct here (the *dalet* and the *qoph* are clear), then it must be assumed that a horseman is meant here (see commentary to Inscription No. 7). The rest of the letter is illegible.

Inscription 12



חמר 10 מן מדינת שן
לדגל עבדנני
עקביו ... חמר 3
שם 4 ק 4
ידוע

10 donkey-drivers (?) ... from the city (or state) of ...
From the *degel* of 'Abdnanay
'Aqabiah ... 3 donkeys
Barley: 4 seahs, 4 qabs.
'Yaddua'

Faint traces of letters next to the heavy script and between the lines may indicate that this is a palimpsest.
10 חמר — The sign which we take to be the numeral 10 has a short bar sticking up on the right, as in the letter *he*. However, an explanation for the word *חמר* (a collective form for donkeys?) is difficult. 10 חמר (instead of 10 חמריו) is also unusual — but this is how it is written in these ostraca (see line 3: 3 חמר, and also Nos. 23, 24, 31, 37; see also note 42). The continuation of the text, ... לדגל עבדנני, makes it difficult to translate 10 חמר as 10 donkeys. Thus we propose translating it as 10 donkey-drivers, i.e., a unit of 10 men belonging to the *degel* of 'Abdnanay from an unknown town.

After 10 חמר, there are traces of a word that may be יהוין (Jews), but the vertical line at the end of this group of letters makes this reading difficult. Instead of the reading [...] מדינת שן, perhaps it is possible to read מדינתא ("the city"). If we stick with the reading [...] מדינת שן, then perhaps it should be completed [...] מדינת שן, i.e., "the state (or city) of Sa[maria]". Aharoni proposes the reading [...] מדינת שן, i.e., "...Ed[om]". B. Porten suggests the reading: [...] מדינת שן, i.e., "the donkey-drivers of Yeho[...] from the state (city) of Sa[maria]". This reading parallels the formula in No. 7: "פרשי אלישיב", but the sign following חמר does not appear to be a *yod*.
לדגל עבדנני — Similar combinations are common at Elephantine. Nanay or Nana is the name of a Babylonian goddess, but apparently names bearing this theophorous element were popular with people of Aramaic descent, too.³⁴ In Elephantine, the large army units known as

degel were named after persons with Persian names (Bagapata, Haumadata, Varyazata) or Babylonian names (Iddinnabu, Nabukudurni).³⁵

'Aqabiah — a Hebrew name which does not appear in the Bible. The biblical names composed from this root are יעקב Jacob, יעקבה Jacobah (1 Chr 4:36), and the shortened name יעקב Akkub (only in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles). In a di'pinto from Alexandria in Egypt, from the beginning of the Hellenistic period, is written: עקביה בר אלישיב.³⁶ 'Aqabiah and 'Aqiba are names of Tannaim. The 'Aqabiah of this ostrakon was apparently the commander of the 10 (Jewish?) donkey-drivers who came from a certain town. They belonged to a large military division (*degel*) whose commander was 'Abdnanay, and they had three donkeys with them.

34. E. Bresciani — M. Kamil, *Le lettere Aramaiche di Hermopolis*, *Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Serie VIII, Vol. XII, 5 (1966), p. 586.
35. I. N. Vinikov, *Slovar Arameyskikh nadpisey, Palestinskiy Sbornik* 4 (67), 1959, pp. 232-233 (Instead of ארסתר in Kraeling, No. 5:2, Porten suggests reading ארסתר).
36. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *L'antique necropole juive d'Alexandrie*, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, VIII, Paris 1924, pp. 59-67, Pl. II.

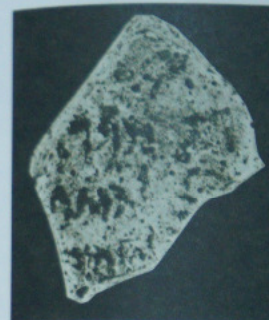
Inscription 13



Yehonatan
Wheat: 1 seah.
Yaddua' on the 7th (of the month?).

יהונתן
חם 1
ידוע ב 7

At the beginning of the second line, there are two vertical strokes. Even though a horizontal stroke connecting them is not to be seen, we suggest here reading a *het*. This letter as an abbreviation for "wheat" appears in the Beer-Sheba ostraca.



Inscription 14

(Obverse)	(Reverse)
Yehonatan Yehoyosef horse (?) gave donkey

This ostrakon bears script on both sides. The sherd is broken, thus the text is incomplete. There are a few clear words, and perhaps it is possible to read *סוס* "horse". On the obverse, the name Yehonatan (Jonathan) is written in the margin, from top to bottom; underneath it is perhaps the name Yehoyosef. If this reading is correct, it is a variant of the Yosef (Joseph), Yehosef; cf. Yehoyosef to the Phoenician name בעליסף Baalyasaf.

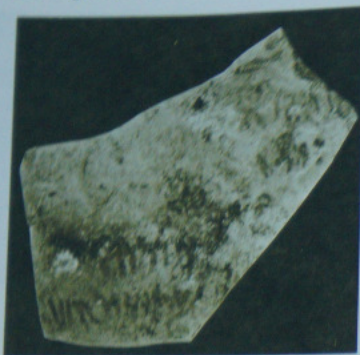
Inscription 15



..... 1 horse. Barley: 6 seahs.
Yaddua' on the 6th (of the month?).

The beginning of the text, apparently a personal name, is unclear.

Inscription 16



... 1 horse
Barley: 5 seahs, 3 qabs.

Two lines of script were erased at the top of the sherd. Since the word סוסה "horse" usually appears in the first line, immediately after the name, this ostrakon may possibly be a palimpsest.

Inscription 17



Shau[?]
Barley: ... seah(s) ...
Yaddua' on...

The ostrakon is apparently broken on its left side. Probably the first word is a personal name, and should be read שאל "Shaul" (Saul).

Inscription 18



da'wy from the degel

דעוי מן דגל

The first word is apparently either דעוי or דעוי. If our reading is correct, then Da'uy or Ra'uy is a personal name, a shortened form of the Hebrew name דעיה D/Re'uyah found at Elephantine.³⁷ And cf. the biblical names דעואל Deuel, דעואל Reuel, Reu, and דעוי Re'i.

דגל — The usual form is לדגל, but linguistically, מן דגל is also possible. See above for the discussion on Inscription No. 12.

There are traces of five more lines, which are illegible.

37. The accepted reading is דעיה (see Cowley 33:8; 21:9; 118:22; 10:23), but Porten's suggestion that it is also possible to read דעיה is acceptable.

Inscription 19



[]
Yaddua'

[]
... ידוע

The upper part of the ostrakon is apparently missing. It is logical to assume that the text of this ostrakon was similar to those of the previous ostraca. After the word Yaddua', we would expect "on the Xth (of the month)" — but it is not visible. On the other hand, there are recognizable traces of the sign

Inscription 20



Qausyinqom ...
Barley: 1 seah ...
On ...

קוסינקם ...
שם 1.
ב

קוסינקם — an Edomite theophorous name. The element נקם is found in the names of some of the kings of Ugarit, called *Nqmd* [in Akkadian transliteration: *Na-qa-ma-du* (verbal form) or *Niqma-Addu*].³⁸ The name נקמאל Naqam'el appears in Phoenician inscriptions from Egypt.⁴⁰ Probably the inscriptions on a jar handle from the Ophel in Jerusalem — [נקם גדל] — comprises two names נקם גדל (בן) "Naqam (son of) Gedal[yahu]". The shortened version of the name, Naqam, appears apparently also on handles found at Tel en-Naṣbeh and Ramat Rahel.⁴¹

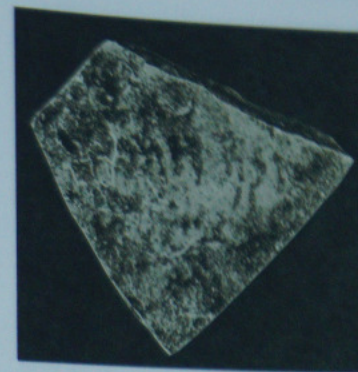
38. This is the reading of Prof. F. M. Cross.

39. Aistleitner, p. 213.

40. M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* III, Giessen 1915, p. 126M; Benz, pp. 147, 363.

41. J. Prignaud, *Notes d'épigraphie hébraïque*, RB LXXVII (1970), pp. 50-59.

Inscription 21



] qaus ... donkey(s)
] ...

[קוס חמור ...
] ...

Inscription 22

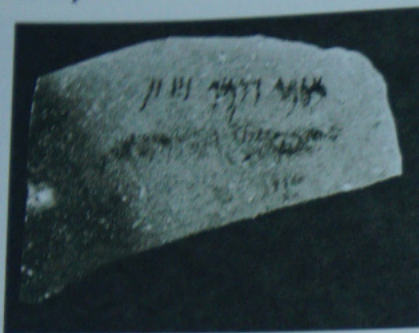


Nahum and Abimelek (?)
Barley: ... seah(s), 1 qab. Yaddua'
on the 7th (of the month?)

נחום ואבימלך
שם ... ק 1 ידוע
ב 7

The first line is difficult; the reading proposed here is offered tentatively.

Inscription 23



'snvh (?) 5 donkeys

אסניה חמור 5

The reading of the first word is doubtful. If the name is really אסניה Asaniah, it may be compared to the name אסנא Asnah (Ezra 2:50).

5 חמור — We would have expected 5 חמורין (cf. גברין 10 in No. 7), but in these texts, the usual form is חמר, even when the plural is indicated; see Nos. 12, 24, 31, 37.

42. Cf. Cowley, No. 54:5, 11: 10 חמר. Possibly, חמר is an internal plural form, and cf. in Syriac חמר (Gen 45:23) beside חמרין (Jdg 19:3, 10). See Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1904, p. 61.

Inscription 24



חל 1 camel 2 donkeys.

Barley: 3 seahs...

חל גמל 1 חמר 2

שס 3

חל — the names חל and חלס are found in Safaitic;⁴³ and cf. חטית Hatita (Ezra 2:42; Neh 7:45).

גמל = "camel" — It appears only in this ostrakon.

43. Harding, p. 192.

Inscription 25



.....donkey(s)

.....barley: 3 seahs

The first two letters are difficult to read; perhaps here again we have חס, as in No. 24. After the word חמר (if our reading is correct), there is a sign similar to the numeral 20. At the beginning of the next line there are perhaps remains of the letters חלך, i.e., Cilicia, or perhaps חלכין — Cilicians.⁴⁴ If this proposal is acceptable, then we may be dealing here with 20 donkeys belonging to Cilicians.

44. Cf. Driver No. 6:4; No. 12:2; etc.

ט חמר . זי

שס 3

Inscription 26



..... 1 horse

יון סוסה 1

ח.....

.....

Before the word סוסה, there is a word ending in nun, and perhaps waw and nun; cf. No. 28. It seems likely that these letters belong to a personal name.

Inscription 27



Zaydu...

Barley: ...seah(s)...

זידו . ל...

שס.....

זיד — The last letter is doubtful. זידו is a common name in Nabataean.⁴⁵

45. Cantineau II, p. 92.

Inscription 28



Gimron flou[r]

Yaddua' on the 3rd (or more, of the month?)

גמרון קמון

יודע ב 3

The name גמרון Gimron is hitherto unknown. If our reading is correct, then here is another name ending with יר — like Gideon, Shimeon, Shimshon, etc.

קמ — The completion is based on the appearance of this word in Nos. 29, 30.

Inscription 29



.....flour

Abinur

קמון.....

אבנור

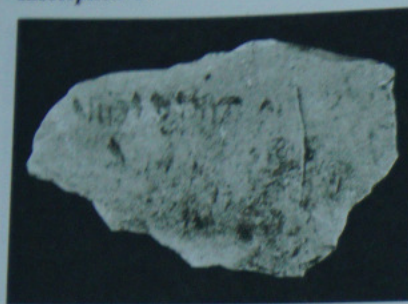
If our proposed reading is correct, then the nearest parallels to the name Abinur occur in the names on the Ammonite seal — אבנר עבד עמנב;⁴⁶ in the Wadi Daliyeh documents — יהנור;⁴⁷ and in the Palmyrene names — בולנור.⁴⁸ It is possible to see a faint bet and traces of numerals in the remains of line 1; perhaps designating a date?

46. G. R. Driver, *Seals and Tombstones*, *ADAJ* 2 (1953), pp. 62-65.

47. F. M. Cross, *The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri*, *BA* XXVI (1963), p. 115.

48. Stark, p. 75.

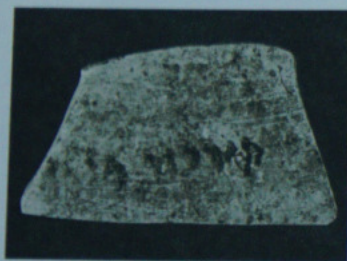
Inscription 30



..... flour: 1 seah, 3 qabs.

..... י קמח ס 1 ק 3

The text is written here on stone, and not on a sherd. In the 1973 season of the Beer-Sheba excavations, an Aramaic text written on a pebble was found. And cf. below, No. 33, which was written on a piece of bone.



Inscription 31



.... 2 donkeys

..... חמור 2

Inscription 32

qwsbh (?) ... horse(s) [...]

..... קוסבכ סוסה

The reading of the first three letters is very doubtful. Nevertheless, it appears to be a careless writing of a name composed with the Edomite theophorous element Qaus, which appears also in names on ostraca Nos. 1, 10, 20, 21, 33, and 43. קוסבכ may be an abbreviated name, and cf. the commentary on ostrakon No. 1.

Inscription 33

... qaus... .. קוס...

This text is written on a piece of bone. The script is faded, but traces of the last three letters קוס of the first word are discernible; probably another Edomite theophorous name.

Inscription 34



pnhy.....

Yaddua'....

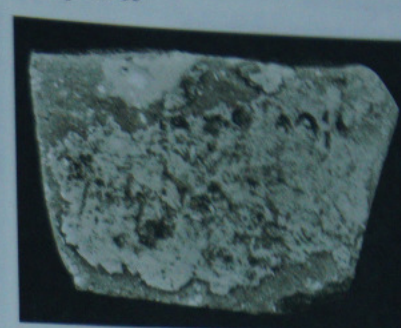
..... פניה

..... ירוע

A text of three lines. At the beginning of the third line are traces of the Yaddua'. The name at the beginning of the ostrakon is apparently פניה Penayah, and cf. פניאל Peniel/פנואל Penuel in the Bible, and also פנוליה Penuliah from Elephantine.⁴⁹

49. The name פנוליה is also found at Elephantine; see Cowley 22:80 and Kraeling 10:19 (Kraeling read by mistake פסליה). Apparently this name does not come from the root פלל (like פלליה and פלול), but is another form of the name פנוליה which grew out of the assimilation of the nun with the following lamed.

Inscription 35

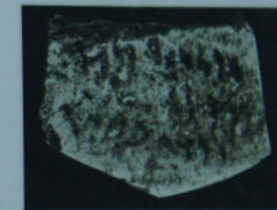


'nwy.....

..... ענוי

'ענוי = probably 'Annuy. If our reading is correct, then we have an abbreviated form of the name עניה 'Anayah (like דלוי — Dalluy from דליה Dalayah). See the biblical names עניה Anaiah (Neh 8:4; 10:23) and Ananiah. Ananiah is a common name at Elephantine, and its abbreviated form 'Anani appears also at Arad in Inscription No. 38. The faint traces of ink to the right of the name may justify the reading לענוי "to 'Annuy".

Inscription 36



..... flour (?)

2 seahs

Yaddua' on the 5th (of the month?)

..... ירוע <ק> מנח

..... ק { ס 2

..... ירוע ב 5

The first word may be a name composed of the theophorous element "י" together with a verb in imperfect, e.g.: יויכין Yoyakin (Jehoiakin), יויקים Yoyakim (Jehoiakim), and יויריב Yoyarib (Jehoiarib) in the Bible. Continuing, we read מנח in the first line and in the second line 2 קס. The qoph is written in the margin and appears to have been added on after the scribe finished writing the third line. Probably he meant to write 2 קס and when he discovered that he had forgotten the qoph, he added it before the samek. It is difficult to decide whether the writer mistook the samek for the mem, because of their similarity, or whether lack of space next to or above the mem led him to write the qoph in the margin of the second line.

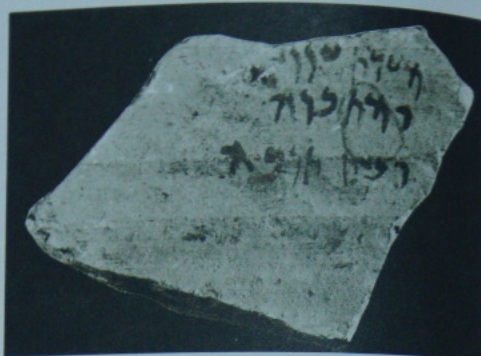
Inscription 37



Treasurer (?) [
2 donkeys [
the cooks (?) [
.....

In this fragmentary and faded text, the words 2 חמר in the second line are clearly legible. If our proposed readings in the rest of the lines are correct, then this may be instructions from the treasurer (see line 1: דנובר) to supply the cooks (line 3) with two donkeys. Since the text is fragmentary, and there was probably additional information in the missing part, it is also possible to propose the following: instructions to supply some treasurer with barley for two donkeys, whereas wheat was to be given the cooks. However, since our reading of lines 1, 3, and 4 is uncertain, and only the right side of the text remained, we cannot be certain what is meant. In any case, this ostracon appears to be of a similar type to the previous ones, though differing in details — if a treasurer and cooks are really mentioned here.

Inscription 38



The cave of 'Anani
and his straw-shed
and his house (shed) of straw(?)

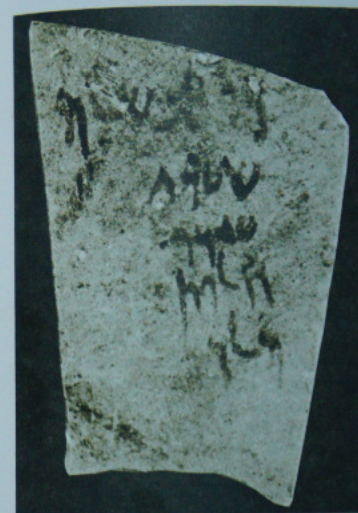
מערת ענני
ומתבנה
ובית תבנה

This ostracon was first published in 1963.⁵⁰ Following my oral comments on the preliminary publication in Hebrew, Prof. Aharoni emended his reading in the English version. My proposal was: "The cave of 'Anani and his straw-shed and his ox-stable". Cf. this with similar lists in Tannaitic literature — 'Erubin 8:4; Sotah 8:2; the Baraita in B. T. Pesahim 8a; and especially that in B. T. Yoma 11a: ביתך ביתך המיוחד לך. פרט לבית התבן ולבית הבקר ולבית העצים ולבית האוצרות. שפטרין מן המזוזה. "This is how it is taught: 'Thy house' means 'a house appointed for thee'; that excludes the straw shed, ox stable, woodshed and storehouse, which do not require a *mezuzah*." The reading of the last word תורה was doubtful, but I tended to read *resh*, since in the photograph and drawing published by Aharoni, the penultimate letter had a base which was similar to the *bet* from the Herodian period, but did not appear before then. Thus, I supposed that this was an extraneous stroke. Aharoni did not accept my reading תורה, and in his English publication suggested the reading: מערת ענני ומתבנה ובית תבנה. He translated the last words as: "and its house of fruits(?)".⁵² After examining a new photograph and the sherd itself, I found that the correct reading should indeed be תבנה. However, I cannot accept Aharoni's suggestion that the Aramaic word תבנה is connected to the Hebrew תבנה ("produce"). תבנה has to be composed of the element תנב plus the third person singular possessive pronoun (cf. ומתבנה).⁵³ Thus, I propose that in the third line, there was an exchange of letters, and the scribe meant to write תבנה = "his house of straw". Since the two expressions מתבנה and בית תבנה are identical in meaning, this ostracon may have been a first draft of a list, made in order to decide which expression was more suitable. A listing of a man's belongings is not a subject fit for writing on sherds, but is very common in documents on papyrus or parchment. Thus, it is possible that a scribe,⁵⁴ while writing a bill of

sale or some other document, wanted to try out on a sherd which word seemed more suitable for his purposes — but he mistakenly wrote בית תבנה instead of תבנה.

50. Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, The First Season of Excavations at Tel Arad, *Yedi'ot* 27 (1963), pp. 227-229, fig. 4, Pl. VIII:2 (Heb.).
51. I published this reading later; see J. Naveh, Old Aramaic Inscriptions (1960-1965), *Leshonenu* XXIX (1965), p. 192 (Heb.) and *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, N.S. XVI (1966), pp. 31-32.
52. Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, Excavations at Tel Arad: Preliminary Report on the First Season, 1962, *IEJ* 14 (1964), pp. 141-142, Fig. 4, Pl. 38 B.
53. The word תנב appears in Hosea 8:7, meaning "plant, fruit". But from the word תנב it is difficult to construct the form תנב. Moreover, in Aramaic, the word תנב "numbness; rigidity"; see K. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halle 1928, p. 829b; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud, etc.* (Reprinted: New York 1967), p. 1654.
54. Indeed the script on this ostracon is more conservative than the script of the other ostraca. Thus, this ostracon may be earlier.

Inscription 39



... Tabshalem
Shelomi
'Aidu
Halafiah
Maliku

טבשלם
שלמי
עידו
חלפתה
מלכו

This sherd is a list of names. The first two or three letters of the first line are unclear. Perhaps טבשלם "sons of Tabshalem" was written in the first line?

טבשלם — this name appears in ostracon No. 1 from Lachish,⁵⁵ and on a seal from Ein Gedi.⁵⁶ This name can be explained as a shortened form without a theophorous base, i.e., an abbreviation for טובי-שלם-אל and see Proverbs 13:21: ואת הצדיקים ישלם טוב "But to the righteous,

good shall be repaid". However, in Phoenician names, שלם serves as a theophorous element. See חשלים, ינושלם, and שלמי.⁵⁷

שלמי — an abbreviated name, found in the whole of the Semitic world.

עידו — a common Nabataean name.⁵⁸

חלפתה is a common name among the Palmyrenes,⁵⁹ but it is used also by the Jews, e.g.: יוסי בן חלפתה was the name of a Tanna.

מלכו — a common name at Palmyra and among the Nabataeans.

55. Toczyner (above, n. 14), pp. 9-10.

56. See the photograph in the *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, p. 442 (Heb.).

57. Benz, pp. 417-418.

58. Cantineau, II, p. 129.

59. Stark, pp. 78-80.

Inscription 40



Ba[r]lush
Wa'alu
Barlush

ברוש
ועלו
ברלוש

This ostracon, too, appears to be a list of names.

עידו — the element ועל occurs in the South Arabic names ברלוש, ועלו, ועלו, and ועלו.⁶⁰ In contrast, the name ברלוש (appearing apparently also in line 1) is hitherto unknown, although the element בר (meaning "son of") is common among the names of Palmyra and Hatra.⁶¹ If the same name does, indeed, appear both in the first and the third lines, then a genealogical relation between the three men is likely: Barlush, son of Wa'alu, son of Barlush. The papyonymic system was very popular in the Persian period.

60. Harding, p. 645.

61. Stark, pp. 78-80.

Inscription 41



Reverse	Obverse
1. זי נשא כסף (אחור)	1. זי נשא כסף
2. בל	2. בל
	3.
	4. את
	5. כוז
	6. כסף ר' 2
	7. קדם
	8. חר' ר' 2
	9. רקמא ר' 1

Obverse	Reverse
1. Who demands the money (which he had lent)	1. Who demands the money (which he had lent)
2.	2.
3.	
4.	
5. when ...	
6. ... silver 2 quarters	
7. before ...	
8. bead (?) 2 quarters (?)	
9. embroidery (?) 1 quarter (?)	

On this sherd, a longer text was written than on the others. However, its state of preservation is very poor, and it is difficult to decipher its contents. The fact that the beginning of the inscription is also written on the reverse side helps us decipher this line: זי נשא כסף. The meaning of the verb נשא is probably "demand payment of a debt", as in Nehemiah 5:10: וְגַם אֲנִי אֲחִי וְנַעֲרֵי נָשִׁים בָּהֶם: "And I likewise, and my brethren and my servants, have lent them money and corn. I pray you, let us release this debt." The *bet* beginning the second line fits the usage of this verb: נשא ... כסף, but it is difficult to read the rest of the text in line 2. It is also possible that the *bet* is part of a Babylonian name: בל...אדן. זי is the usual expression instead of זי גבר or זי גבר, i.e., "someone who...". This usage reminds one of the language of the Law: וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יֵנֶאֱחַ "And the man that committeth adultery..." (Lev 20:10-21; or *awilum ša* in Akkadian).

Lines 3-4 are completely illegible. In line 5 possibly the word כוז "when" is written. At the end of line 6 apparently the word כסף "silver" is identifiable, and afterwards the designation ר' (= 2 quarters), i.e., half a shekel;⁶² or should כז be read, i.e., 2 כרש (= 10 shekels)? In line 7, the word קדם "before" appears. In the last two lines of the ostrakon are two words: חר' "bead" (?) and רקמא "embroidery" (?), and following them, the designations ר' and ר'. Does this refer to decorated cloths or to other objets d'art? Do ר' and ר' designate here a quarter and a half, or does the *resh* stand for some measurement of length?

62. R. Yaron, זי נשא in the Elephantine Documents, *Leshonenu* XXXI (1967), p. 287-288 (Heb.); *idem*, *JSS* 13 (1968), pp. 202-205

Inscription 42



This ostrakon, too, is inscribed on both sides. The obverse has eight half lines. Even though some letters are legible, we were unsuccessful in deciphering even one word. On the reverse, it is possible to read in line 1 בחר or בחר זי. The rest is unclear.

Inscription 43



קוט' ...
ב' 20
Gauspe[dani] (?)
On the 20th

This is not an ostrakon, but rather a short ink inscription written beneath the handle of a jar. Cf. it to the Phoenician inscription לבע'אל'לה (belonging) to Ba'alalah from Bat-Yam, also from the fourth century B.C.E.⁶³ Apparently this inscription, too, designates ownership, even though there is no *lamed* before the Edomite theophorous name which I propose completing [קוט'דני] and cf. it to יהוש' in the papyri of Wadi Daliyeh.⁶⁴ Underneath the name there is apparently a date.

63. B. Peckham, An Inscribed Jar from Bat-Yam, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 11-17.

64. Cross, above, n. 47.

Inscription 44



ש
ת
ל
ש

The single legible letters in this broken ostrakon differ in form from those of the other ostraca. It would appear that this ostrakon was written in the Hellenistic, or even in the Herodian period.

Inscription 45



מותי
עם
משו

The letters and the connection between them bear resemblance to the Nabataean script. At any rate, the script from this ostrakon is also different from the Aramaic script regularly found at Arad.

Undeciphered Ostraca: 46-85

In these ostraca, it is impossible to read with certainty even one word or parts of words and letters which can add to our knowledge of the history of Arad. Since I have tried to refrain from unfounded suggestions for reconstructions, I have not included in the above selection of ostraca those whose writing is so faded that attempts at reading them may be regarded as wishful thinking. Thus, for example, I pondered the possibility of reading at the beginning of No. 49: ...ל...ל...ל; or in No. 66 — בני רכש; or in No. 56 — הוש[ע]. But I gave it up. In a few ostraca it is possible to decipher single letters clearly, but they do not make up a word. Even so, we may suppose that the *yod* and the *dalet* in the beginning of the third line of No. 61 are part of the word *Yaddua*. Underneath them, the sign appears. Remains of this sign also appear in other ostraca: 52, 65, 66, 68, 71. We also can discern vertical lines in some ostraca which are doubtless numerals. Thus we assume that on most of the illegible ostraca were written texts similar in content to the majority of the "legible" ones. In other words, the group of ostraca described above appear to be representative also of the undecipherable ones.

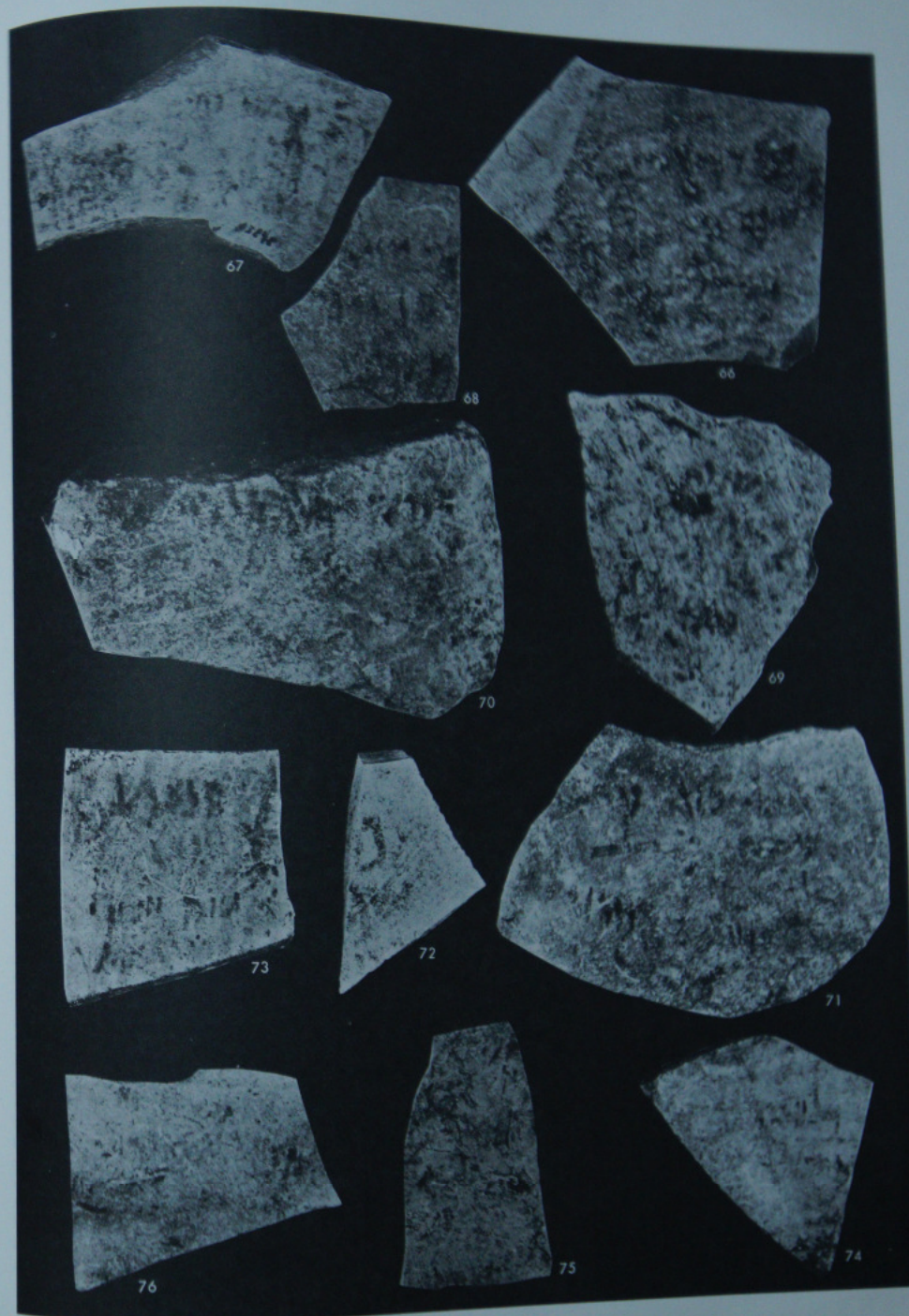
Plates: Photographs of the undecipherable Aramaic ostraca.



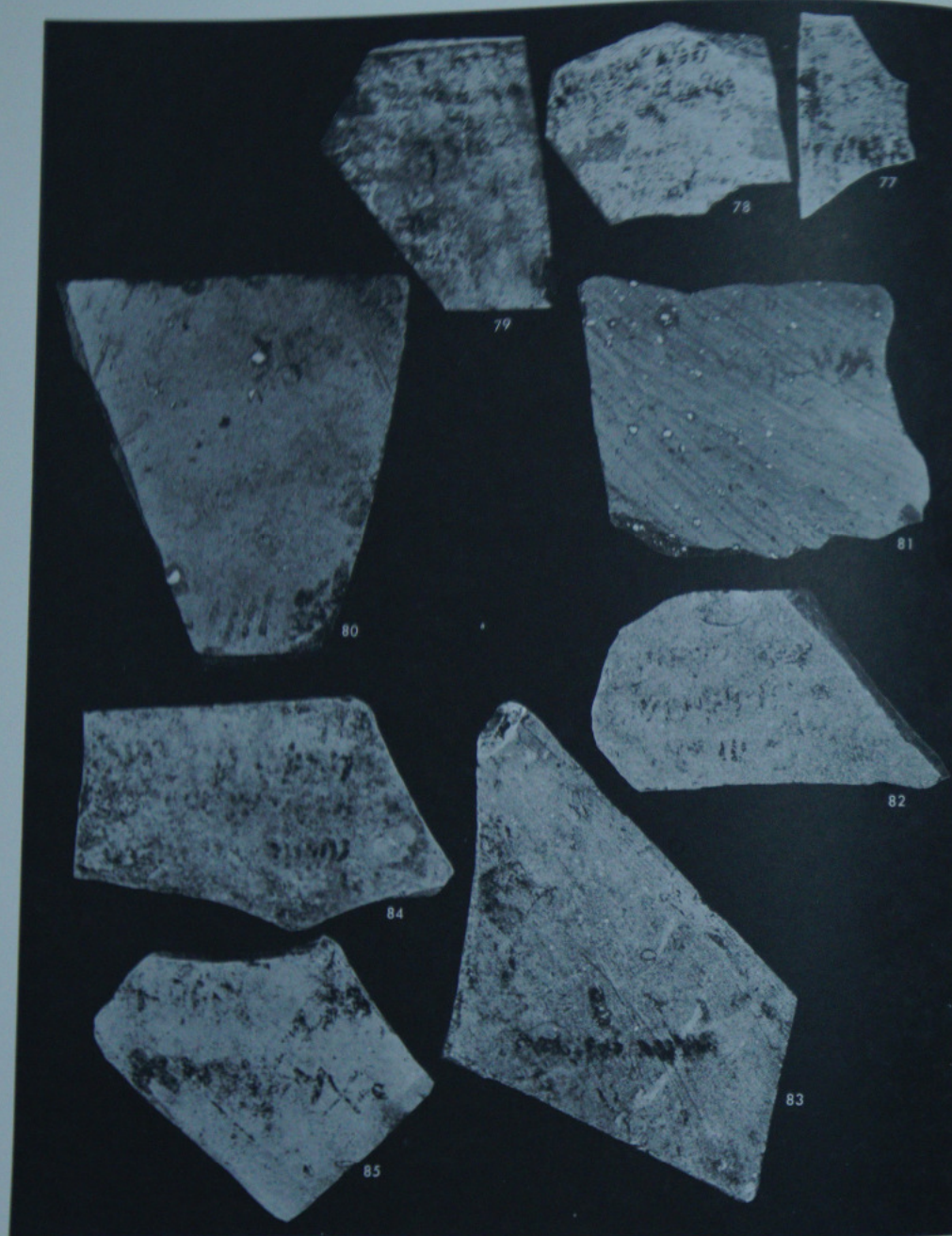
Pl. 1: 46-56



Pl. 2: 57-65



Pl. 3: 66-76



Pl. 4: 77-85

SUMMARY

What can we learn from the Aramaic ostraca found at Arad? In this summary, we shall refer mainly to the 40 ostraca discussed above (Nos. 1-40). Thirty-seven of them have similar contents. They usually include a personal name, the number of horses or donkeys, and an amount of grain. Afterwards comes the text: Yaddua' on the 5th (or the 6th, 7th, 8th). The sign appears in most of these ostraca. The formula is not identical in all 37 texts, and often specific details are given. This abbreviated text was understood by the addressee, although it is not unambiguous to the modern reader.

The key to understanding these ostraca today is found, as noted, in No. 5, which opens with the words: *תן לפרא* "Give to Peda'el". This appears to be a fuller version, which shows that the person named at the top of the ostrakon was to be the recipient of the commodities. The commodities supplied were mainly amounts of barley. The barley was for one horse, colts (No. 6), donkeys, and one camel (No. 24). In No. 5, a horse or donkey is not mentioned, but it appears that the seah of barley was given for the horse (or donkeys) of Peda'el. In contrast, one seah of wheat, mentioned in No. 13, was apparently supplied to Yehonatan (and his friends?). The riders received *דקר* "crushed (barley)" (Nos. 7-11). In Nos. 28-30 and 36 flour was given. In all of the ostraca which designate crushed barley, wheat, or flour, neither horses nor donkeys are mentioned.

The ostraca mention one donkey (Nos. 1, 2), two donkeys (Nos. 24, 31, 37), three donkeys (No. 12), and even five donkeys (No. 23), but the number of horses never exceeds one. Probably those who received barley for horses were the riders. Inscription No. 7 mentions a unit of horsemen numbering ten people; No. 12 apparently denotes a unit of donkey drivers. The units of ten and the larger military divisions (called *דגל*) show military organization. In No. 1, one man, a horse, and a donkey are mentioned; in No. 24 — a man, a camel, and two donkeys. Ostrakon No. 6, mentioning 12 colts, may perhaps be taken as evidence that horses were also bred at Arad.

At the end of the texts is written "Yaddua' on the 5th (6th, 7th, or 8th)", after which comes the sign. In one of the Hebrew ostraca from Arad, Eliashib was ordered to give the Kittiyim wine and flour, as well as to "write the name of the day" — i.e., Eliashib, supplier of these commodities, had to write the date. In another Hebrew ostrakon, Nahum was ordered to send oil; on the reverse of this same ostrakon, it is written that "on the 24th of the month Nahum gave oil in the hand of the Kittiyim". Apparently, the date was written by Nahum. Thus it may be possible that Yaddua' is the name of the man who supplied the barley and wrote down the date. However, in the Aramaic ostraca, *× ידוע ב* and the sign are not added on by the person who has supplied the commodities; this short text and the sign are both written by the same pen and the same writer who wrote the beginning of the ostrakon, i.e., the man who gave the instructions to supply these commodities. Thus Yaddua' seems to be the name of the man who issued the

instructions. Although the texts are written by different persons, in no individual ostrakon do we find two handwritings.⁶⁵ Perhaps some of these ostraca were written by Yaddua' himself, but most would have been written by his clerks. In addition to the name Yaddua', were written the date and the sign — probably serving as a kind of signature or confirmation of the authenticity of the order. The sherd thus served as a note to the bearer which Yaddua' issued to the horsemen and donkey drivers. The bearers of these notes would receive the feed from the grain stores at Arad.

It is difficult to determine where Yaddua' resided. Perhaps he lived in another town, close to or far away from Arad, from which place the horsemen and the donkey drivers would set out in the direction of Arad and beyond. When they left, they would be given these notes which would be exchanged for feed at Arad. However, it is quite possible that this same Yaddua' resided at Arad; if so, then he may have been the local commander, or at least the manager of the storehouses. The people who arrived at Arad with their horses or donkeys would present themselves to the clerks of Yaddua', who determined the type of commodity and the amount to be supplied them.⁶⁶

All of the texts on which the name Yaddua' appears are of the same generation, or more precisely, they are all from the period of Yaddua's term of office. Moreover, it is possible to reduce the time of these ostraca to an even shorter period. It is possible that the designation *× ב* represents the year, although it would appear more likely that the day is meant. Perhaps all of these ostraca were written on four consecutive days (from the fifth to the eighth of the month), but it is also possible to assume that these notes were issued during different months. The fact that only four days (5-8) are named in these ostraca may be explained by supposing that the commodities were distributed at Arad at the end of the first week of the month. We cannot know if our hypothesis about the dates is correct, but it is clear that the ostraca come from a limited period in the middle of the fourth century B.C.E. — according to the paleographic criterion.

Aside from the granary, Arad also had a straw shed. In ostrakon No. 38, the straw shed of 'Anani is mentioned; 'Anani is either the owner or the manager of this shed. Straw, too, was issued as food for the horses: "Barley and also straw for the horses and swift steeds" (1 Kgs 5:8). Although straw was not mentioned in the notes of Yaddua', it appears that it was not missing at Arad.

65. The state of preservation of the ostraca makes it difficult to classify them according to handwriting, but it appears to us that Nos. 7, 9, 13, and 5 were written by one person.

66. It is difficult to determine whether there was a method in fixing the amount of feed per rider, horse, or donkey. It seems there was no fixed quota; if there was, then the data we have are insufficient for ascertaining it.

There is a similarity between the contents of some of the Hebrew ostraca and some of the Aramaic ostraca of Arad. Among the Hebrew ostraca are lists of recipients of wheat. There are also instructions to supply the Kittiyim mercenaries with flour, wine, and oil. However, supplying the horses and donkeys with barley is not discussed in the Hebrew ostraca. It may be supposed that Arad's military role did not change in the Persian period. If at the end of the monarchy commodities were supplied to the infantry, then during the fourth century B.C.E. there is evidence for the existence of cavalry and a supply unit on donkeys. However, according to literary sources from the Persian period, we may perhaps suppose that Arad in this period was a way-station, and the riders on their horses played an important part in the maintenance of quick communications between the different parts of the Persian Empire.

The Book of Esther 8:10, 14 tells of letters sent "by couriers on horseback, riding on swift horses", "being hastened and pressed on by the king's commandment". Herodotus (VIII, 98) describes the Persian couriers as the fastest on earth. Along the roads there were way stations at a riding distance of one day. At each station, there were horses and riders ready to receive the posts and to set out immediately. Snow, rain, heat or night did not prevent them completing their journey in the fastest time possible. Herodotus compares the Persian mail to the Greek torch race which was held in honor of Hephaestus and states that the Persian word for this kind of post was ἀγγαρχίου.⁶⁷

The personal names recorded here reflect the population of Arad, and more precisely the ethnic structure of the people who inhabited the place for their term of service. In the two lists of names (Nos. 39, 40), Arabic names stand out: עידו, מלכו, ועלו. חלפתה may also be an Arabic name. By contrast, it is difficult to pinpoint the nationality of those names שלמי (Shelomi) and טבשלם (Tabshalem) — even though the latter is only found in Hebrew context. Other Arabic names are ידיו (No. 27), and עבדסלך (No. 3, 4, although this may also be Phoenician). If we choose the reading ודאל (No. 5), then this too is an Arabic name; but פדאל (Peda'el) is a name found in the whole of the Semitic world. If we accept the readings אביסלך (No. 22) and אבינור (No. 29), then these too are general Semitic names, and may be Hebrew, Ammonite, or Edomite.

In six ostraca, and under the handle of a jar, appears the Edomite theophorous element קוס. Only in ostrakon

No. 20 can the name קוסינקום (Qausyinkom) be read with any degree of certainty. In the other ostraca, it is impossible to identify clearly the second element of these Edomite names. In texts No. 1, 32, 43, "Qaus" is the first element in the name, whereas in Nos. 10, 21, 33 "Qaus" appears at the end of the name.

The Hebrew names are in the majority in the Aramaic ostraca of Arad. Names composed with the theophorous element stand out: עקביה (Aqabiah, No. 12), מניה (Penaiah, No. 34), מתניה (Mattaniah? — No. 2), יהונתן (Yehonatan), and יהויסף (Yehoyosef, Nos. 13, 14) ענני (Anani, No. 38) is an abbreviation for ענניה (Ananyah), and דעיו/רעיו (No. 18) is an abbreviation for דעיה/רעיה (R'uyah/D'uyah). אלישיב (Eliashib, No. 7) is a Hebrew name; and so may be שכר (No. 8), which occurs in a Hebrew seal. The name Yaddua' and others of a similar pattern are abbreviated names common mainly to the Hebrew onomasticon. If we have not mistaken the reading, then to this group belong the names שלום (Shallum, No. 9), שאול (Shaul, No. 17), נחום (Nahum, No. 22), and apparently also עני (Anuy, No. 35). The last name is hitherto unknown.

From the Beer-Sheba ostraca, we learned that the estate owners who brought wheat and barley as taxes were mainly Arabic and Edomite, and only one name — דלוי (Dalluy) — was apparently that of a Jew. In contrast to this, at Arad, most of the officials were Jews. Aside from עבדנני, the Babylonian (or Aramaean), for whom a military unit was named, the commander who carried out the orders for supplying the commodities was Yaddua'. The "commander of ten" of a riding unit was called Eliashib (No. 7); it would appear that שכר (No. 8) and Shallum (No. 10) held similar positions. Aqabiah was apparently the head of the ten donkey drivers (No. 12). Anani was the owner of the straw shed, or else its overseer (No. 38).

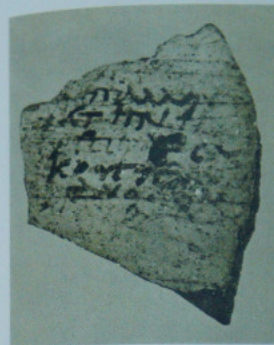
In spite of the difficulties in reading these ostraca, and understanding their abbreviated texts, it seems to me that even if we have been mistaken in some of the details, the main contents of these texts are fairly clear. In the Aramaic ostraca from Arad there is important information on the kind of settlement existing there at that time, and as such they provide a historical source which illuminates somewhat the history of the Persian period in Palestine. By virtue of its geographic position, Arad connects the cities of Judah, the Negeb, the Arabah, Edom, and Philistia. The role of the horsemen and donkey drivers mentioned here may have been varied. Evidently they served as a garrison guarding the roads, but at the same time, they probably were part of the system of communications both by carrying the urgent mail and by transporting loads of commodities to military units and to the government officials who inhabited far-away places in the Negeb and the desert.

THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

BARUCH LIPSHITZ
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The two Greek inscriptions found in the excavations are too incomplete to understand, so we are publishing only a copy of the texts next to the photographs.

Inscription 1



1. [ε]π'αλλαι
2. σ vel ἐτηνη
3. πετρῶ.σ.
4. κουγ.ε
5. αμοσ(?)

Line 3 δ = ον

Inscription 2



1. Διά
2. Κοροντ (ος?)

Via (a man named) Κοροντ, vid. Fr. Preisigke, Namenbuch, s.v.

THE ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

MOSHE SHARON

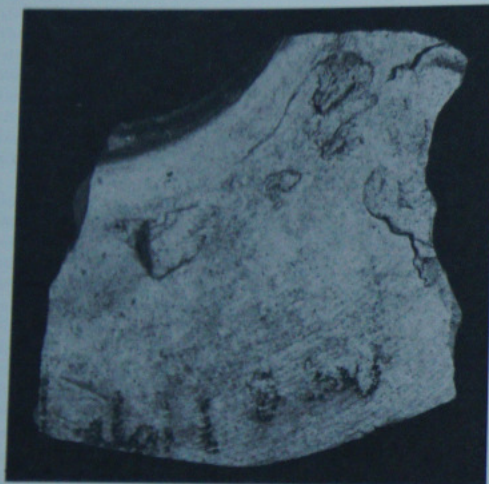
The Hebrew University in Jerusalem

Among the five pieces of ostraca bearing Arabic inscriptions, three can be understood (1-3); the fourth (4) is a graffito accidentally engraved, and as such dating it is impossible. The fifth ostrakon (5) is almost completely faded.

Inscriptions 1-3 were written on earthenware with a brush and paint. The script is of the type of the early Arabic papyri, and can be dated to the ninth century C.E.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the sherds, it is impossible to arrive at a complete reading of these three painted ostraca.

The graffito inscription contains two beginnings of the invocation, "In the name of Allah."



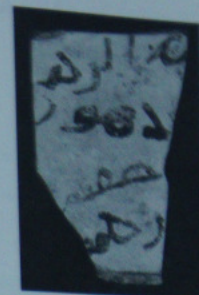
Inscription 1

بعده الصلوة ... (١٨) : لتجدة الله ... (١)



Inscription 2

1. سالتك (٩)
2. خالد (٩)
3. لعبد (٩)



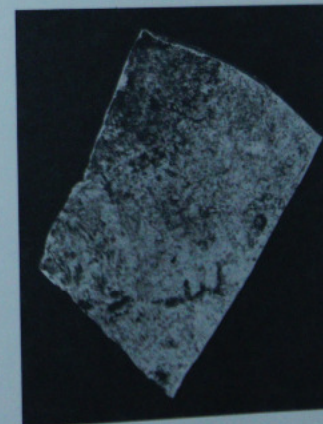
Inscription 3

1. [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم] (١٠٠٠)
2. لدور
3. صفهم (٩) (١٨) : صفهم (٩)
4. رحمو (٩) (١٠٠٠)



Inscription 4

1. [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم] (١٠٠٠)
2. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (١٠٠٠)



Inscription 5

كتب ح ... (٩)

THE COMPOSITION OF THE INK AND ATTEMPTS AT STRENGTHENING THE SCRIPT

ZVI GOPHER
Tel Aviv University

The ink

In writing the ostraca found at Arad, the ink used was based mainly and perhaps wholly on carbon. This fact was determined by the experiments described here:

1. The treatment of the script by saturated solutions of bromium or of hypochloric sodium did not cause erasure of the script.¹

2. When the ostraca were heated to a temperature above that of 450°C, the script disappeared. Imitations of ostraca made in the laboratory and written on with carbon ink were also erased at this temperature; whereas imitations done with iron ink were erased only at 600°C.

The clay from which the ostraca are made contains a high percentage of iron, and it is impossible to tell whether or not iron salts were contained in the original ink.

Attempts at Strengthening the Script

On many ostraca found at Arad, Lachish, and Beer-Sheba, the script had faded, either partially or wholly. This was caused apparently by exposure and by the action of the weather. There are ostraca in which colorless remains of script can be discerned, but they are so faded as to be illegible.

Past efforts at strengthening the script by chemical means led only to negative results.²

We have made several attempts at discovering contrasts between the faded script and its background, but

unfortunately the results were negative. Nevertheless, we shall describe our experiments in order that future scientists may be informed of the techniques used:

1. Optical examinations via television equipment sensitive to ultraviolet and infrared light did not reveal a contrast between the script and the sherd. Similar results were obtained from photographs on film sensitive to infrared light.

2. Autoradiography of ostraca irradiated with thermal neutrons³ also did not reveal a contrast between the script and the background.

3. X-ray microprobe scan of the ostraca, both the legible and the faded ones did not reveal differences in the chemical composition of the script and the background.

4. Attempts at causing preferential graft of copolymerization of the organic polymers of the remains of script by gamma rays also did not strengthen the script.

Thus the ancient faded ostraca will continue to present a challenge to the modern scientist.

1. W. R. Harrison, *Suspect Documents*, London 1966, p. 119.
2. A. Lewis, in H. Torczyner, *Lachish I, The Lachish Letters*, London 1938, p. 188.
3. E. V. Sayre and H. N. Lechtman, *Studies in Conservation*, 13 (1968), p. 161.

LIST OF HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS

Abbreviations used in the description of pottery

(Colours Capital letters)
Bl—Black
Bn—Brown
Cm—Cream
Dark Bn—Dark Brown
Gy—Grey
Lt. Bn—Light Brown
Or—Orange
Pk—Pink
Rd—Red
Wt—White

Other specifications:
aft—after
ba—base
bur—burnish
diag—diagonal
gr—grits
Inkinc—inkinscribed
ins—inside
Inscr—inscription
outs—outside
parl—parallel

sh—sherd
sides—sides
sl—slip
vert—vertical
wh bur—wheel burnish
wh l—wheel lines

The first item in the description is the clay; between brackets—core of clay

Abbreviations of pottery types

B—Bowl
Cp—cooking pot
Dec—decanter
J—jug
SJ—Store jar

Run. No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Strata	Size in mm	Thickness in mm*	Description	Inscription
1.	2777/1	67-713	637	L9	75.75	VI	51×83	5-6	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
2.	2777/5	67-625	637	L9	75.75	VI	75×99	6	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.)	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
3.	2777/4	67-623	637	L9	75.75	VI	59×60	6	SJ-sh. Bn. (Bl.)	Inkinc. both Sd. Vert. to Wh-L.
4.	2777/6	72-127	637	L9	75.75	VI	75×104	4-5	SJ-sh. Bn. in Cm. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
5.	2777/7	67-627	637	L9	75.75	VI	99×53	5	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. Wt-sl.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
6.	2777/10		637	L9	75.75	VI	42×49**	5	SJ-sh. Bn. Gy-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
7.	2777/8		637	L9	75.75	VI	50×78	4	SJ-sh. Rd. Wt-sl.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
8.	2777/15		637	L9	75.75	VI	60×70	5-6	SJ-sh. dk-Bn. (Bn-Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
9.	2777/18		637	L9	75.75	VI	46×46	6	SJ-sh. dk-Bn. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
10.	2777/17		637	L9	75.75	VI	70×74	4-5	SJ-sh. Bn. (Wt-sl.) Wt-Gy. gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
11.	2777/12		637	L9	75.75	VI	65×71	4-5	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy-Bn.)	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
12.	2777/14		637	L9	75.75	VI	56×59	4-5	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. (Wt-Gy. gr.) Wt-sl.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
13.	2777/16		637	L9	75.75	VI	47×80	5	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy-Bn.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. both Sd. Parl. to Wh-L.
14.	2777/11		637	L9	75.75	VI	76×82	3	SJ-sh. Bn. (Wt-sl.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
15.	2777/13		637	L9	75.75	VI	67×88	6	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
16.	2777/9	67-990	637	L9	75.75	VI	64×90	6	SJ-sh. Gy. Gy-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
17.	2777/3	67-624	637	L9	75.75	VI	60×84	6-7	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. + Vert. to Wh-L.
18.	2777/2	67-669	637	L9	75.75	VI	42×66	14	SJ-sh. Bn. Bn-gr.	Inkinc. both Sd. Vert. to Wh-L.
19.	2769/1	67-905	637	L9	75.75	VI			SJ. (pithos) Intact and complete	Inscription in Ink

*Max. measurements of horizontal and vertical dimensions.

**Two pieces of 62 mm fit onto its left side.

Run No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Strata	Size in mm	Thickness in mm	Description	Inscription
									SJ. Intact and complete	Inscription in Ink
20.	C287/4	64-264	493	G9	75.95	VI				
21.	2833/1	72-126	649	K9	75.75	VI	117×125	11	SJ-sh. (pithos) Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
22.	C313/3		605	E13	75.35	VI	82×106	6	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt-Bn gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
23.	C117/1		482	E12	75.45	VI	66×92	7	B-sh.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
24.	6095/1	72-121	374	C/D12	75.25		116×103	7-9	B-sh. Cm. (Gy-BL) smooth ins.	Inkinc. both Sd. Parl. to Wh-L. beging. outs.
25.	6846/1		374	C/D12	72.40		66×98	6-9	B-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Rd. burn in	Inkinc. in on the burn.
26.	1643/1		397	G14	73.70		48×52	4	SJ-sh. Bn+Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
27.	2013/1		374	C/D12	71.20		77×92	5-6	SJ-sh. Bn+Rd. (Gy+Bn.) Wt+Gy. gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
28.	A570/1-3		730	J18			65×68 42×65	4-5	SJ-shds. (2) Bn-Rd. (Gy.) Cm-sl.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
29.	6028/1		374	C/D12	72.30		54×75	7	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
30.	C207/2		410	G10	75.80	VI	46×87	5-6	SJ-sh. Bn-Rd. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
31.	5602/2	67-1223	779	L8	75.45	VII	150×160	6-7	SJ-sh. Gy. outs. Pk. ins. (Gy.) Wt-gr. Cm-sl.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
32.	5602/46		779	L8	75.45	VII	151×169	5	SJ-sh. Bn. outs. Pk. ins. Wt-gr. Cm-sl.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
33.	7652/1		952	J16	75.00	VII	70×152	5-6	SJ-sh. Rd. Wt-gr. Cm-sl.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
34.	5602/1	67-982	779	L8	75.45	VII	76×110	4-6	SJ-sh. Gy. (light) Wt-gr. Cm. out- and insd.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
35.	6083/1		374	C/D12	72.55		33×47	7	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
36.	C432/5		605a	E13	74.80	VII	107×108	7	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
37.	5273/1		785	J16	75.30	(VII)	21×23	5	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. both Sd. Parl. to Wh-L.
38.	6273/1		929	C14	73.75		37×	5	SJ-sh. Bn. Cm. (pealing) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
39.	2407/1	67-992	314	J14	68.25		56×59	4	SJ-sh. Bn-Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inkinc. both Sd. Parl. to Wh-L. beging. from outs.
40.	C329/5	67-631	429	G12	74.50	VIII	95×146	4-6	SJ-sh. Bn. outs. Gy. ins. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
41.	C276/1		418	E13	74.95	VIII	117×160	7-9	B-sh. Bn. (Gy.) in+outs. burn. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
42.	C296/2		418	E13	74.80	VIII	60×62	4	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.)	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
43.	5840/1		781	H15	74.90	VIII	57×68	7	B-sh. Pk. (Cm.) Wt+Gy-gr. Wh-burn. ins.	Inkinc. ins. Vert. to Wh-L.
44.	C429/13		418	E13	74.45	VIII	18×27	8	B-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr. burn. ins.	Inkinc. ins. Parl. to burn-L.
45.	5145/1		753	L9/8	74.30	VIII	19×31	5	SJ-sh. Gy-Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
46.	C349/1		418	E13	74.75	VIII	44×148	3-4	B-sh. Bn. (Gy+Bk.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs.
47.	5885/20		963	H15	75.50	VII	72×99	5-8	B-sh. Gy-Bn. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr. Wh-burn. ins.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.

Run No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Strata	Size in mm	Thickness in mm	Description	Inscription
48.	6282/1		882	E/F18	73.30		30×42	6-7		Inscription
49.	7670/1 (5289/1)	72-120	1010 786	J16 J16	75.00 75.15	VIII VIII	130×215	5-6	B-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Cm-sl. Wt-gr. Wh-burn. ins.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
50.	2101/1	67-979	469	E14	74.65	VIII	31×30	5	J-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
51.	2104/2	67-978	469	E14	74.60	VIII	30×31	4-5	J-sh. Bn. Cm. Gy+Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
52.	2104/1	67-977	469	E14	74.60	VIII	26×40	6	B-sh. Bn. (Gy.) radial lines burn. in and outside.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to burn-L.
53.	7677/1		1010	J16	74.90	VIII	28×42	4	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
54.	5411/2	67-714	929	C14	72.70		32×33	5	SJ-sh. Cm. Gy+Wt-gr.	Inkinc. ins. Diag. to Wh-L.
55.	5411/1	67-679	929	C14	72.70		23×34	8	SJ-sh. Cm. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
56.	5415/1	67-979	929	C14	71.45		20×29	8-10	B-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wh-burn. ins. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
57.	5415/1	67-999	929	C14	72.40		19×29	4	SJ-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
58.	2411/1		374	C/D12	71.35		29×48	4	B-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wh-burn. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
59.	6325/1		68	L16	74.55	(IX)	71×71	5	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
60.	7685/1		1036	K17	74.55	IX	49×72	5-7	B-base Cm. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. both Sds. ins. preserved
61.	1124/1		615b	E15	74.25	IX	27×36	8	SJ-sh. Cm. (Cm+Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. both Sds. Parl. to Wh-L. outs. preserved.
62.	1565/1		350	G15	74.60	IX	30×31	6-7	SJ-sh. Pk. (Bn.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
63.	731/1		443C	H9	74.10	IX	32×40	7-8	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy. gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
64.	6639/1		801	M10	74.20	VIII	38×45	12-14	SJ-sh. (pithos) Cm. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
65.	6536/1		791	H14	74.30	IX	41×47	6	B-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.) Wh-burn. insd. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
66.	A383/3		38	L15	74.75	IX	22×27	7	SJ-sh. Cm+Bn. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
67.	6355/1		107	K16/17	74.00	X	61×79	6	SJ-sh. Gy. (dark-Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
68.	A313/14		105a	K15/16	74.30	X	34×38	5	SJ-sh. or J. Bn. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inkinc. both Sds. Vert. to Wh-L. ins. preserved.
69.	1408/3		365	F12	73.50	X	52×73	7	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
70.	1720/1		394	G15	73.35	X	43×106	6	SJ-sh. Cm-Bn. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
71.	1758/1	67-289	397	G14	73.15		23×41	3	J-sh. Bn. Cm-sl. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inkinc. both Sds. Parl. to Wh-L.
72.	B44/1	67-991	208	O14			90×121	11-13	Pithos-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt-sl.	Inkinc. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
73.	2414/1		374	C/D12	67.90		32×45	12	SJ-sh. Pk. outs. Gy. ins. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
74.	7835/1		949	K16	73.65		40×45	6	SJ-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
75.	B113/2		235	N15	73.90	(X)	27×39	4	SJ-sh. Bn-Cm. (Bn-Gy.)	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
76.	7675/1	72-122	949	K16	73.35	XI	135×152	4-5	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.

Run No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Strata	Size in mm	Thick-ness in mm	Description	Description
77.	7753/1		949	K16	73.30	XI	19×23	4-6	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
78.	5138/1		776d	K9	73.10	XI	13×30	3	Cp-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
79.	7740/1		950	H14	73.30	XI	27×34	7	SJ-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
80.	7780/1		68a	L16	73.00	(K)	37×45	4	SJ-sh. Bn. Gy-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
81.	C324/8		432f	E9	71.85	(XII)	30×45	4-5	SJ-sh. Cm. (Cm-Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
82.	1642/1		397	G14	73.70		59×64	6	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
83.	6856/1		374	C/D12	71.75		39×62	4	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
84.	547/1		613	F14	7600	VI	28×32	6	SJ-sh. Cm-Pk. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
85.	1082/1		905	J15	75.00	VI	29×43	6	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt+Bk-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
86.	C163/1		422	G12	75.05	VII	49×51	4	J-sh. Gy. ins. Bn. outs. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
87.	1593/1		380	H14	74.08	IX	54×65	5-6	SJ-sh. Bn. Gy-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
88.	7904/1						60×104	7-8	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt-gr.	Inkinc. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
89.	5289/2		786	J16	57.15	VIII	47×55	3	J-sh. Bn. (Cm.) Wt-gr.	Incis. outs. aft. firg. Parl. to Wh-L.
90.	A250/1		245	M17	74.80	VIII	32×64	5	B-sh. Rd. (Gy.) Wh-burn. ins. Wt-gr.	Incis. outs. aft. firg.
91.	716/1		443b	H9	74.60	VIII	37×73	5-7	B-sh. Rd. (Gy.) Wt+Bk-gr.	Incis. outs. aft. firg. Parl. to Wh-L.
92.	679/2		355	F12	74.00	IX	67×68	5-6	SJ-sh. Rd-Bn. (Gy.) Cm-sl. Wt-gr.	Incis. outs. aft. firg. Parl. to Wh-L.
93.	5609/1	67-605	841	H11	74.10	IX			Dec-sh. Pk. outs. Gy. ins. Wt+Gy-gr.	Incis. outs. aft. firg. Parl. to Wh-L.
94.	1138/2	64-318	611	F15	84.20	IX	74×96	10	SJ-sh. Bn-Pk.	Incis. outs. after firg. Parl. to Wh-L.
95.	6586/1		384	H14	73.85	X	52×106	6-7	SJ-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	"
96.	B138/2	64-292	232	N17	upper		43×45	7	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt-gr.	"
97.	A86/1		21	K16	75.25	VII	36×45	13 in center	SJ handle with 2 ridges. Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Incis. along length of handle after firg.
98.	1243/1		514a	H10	73.45	X			J. Gy-Pk. Wt-gr.	Incis. outs. after firg. Parl. to Wh-L.
99.	C342/3	64-280	455	E9	7300	IX			B-sh. Gy-Bn. Wt-gr.	"
100.	5029/2		947	H15	73.45	X	50×60	6	B-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	"
101.	1817/1	67-976	388	G15	73.45	X	45×60	5-6	SJ/J-sh. Gy-Pk. Wt+Bk-gr.	"
102.	1720/2	67-969	394	G15	73.30	X	Diamtr.	136	B. Cm-Bk. Insd. Wh-burn. Wt+Bk-gr.	"
103.	1760/1	67-970	394	G15	73.30	X	Diamtr.	117	B. Cm-Pk. Insd. Wh-burn. Wt+Bk-gr.	"
104.	A69/1		13	L13			33×34	4	SJ-sh. Bn. Gy+Wi-gr.	"

Run No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Strata	Length	Width in mm	Thick-ness in mm	Diam. of Hole
105.	5602/50	67-1164	779	L8	75.43	VII	12	8.25	6.5	2
106.	5602/51	67-663	779	L8	75.45	VII	13.5	9	6.25	2.5
107.	5602/52	67-984	779	L8	75.45	VII	12.5	10.5	7.25	2.5
108.	5519/50	67-983	650a	K9	75.30	VII	18	16	9	2.25
109.	648/50		354	G11	7470	VIII				

*The seals were examined and checked by Mrs. Shulamit Gross of the Geolog. Inst.

LIST OF ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS

Run No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Size in mm	Thick-ness in mm	Description	Inscription
1.	5885/13	72-124	325	H15	75.50	35×50	5-6	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
2.	5885/1		325	H15	75.50	44×79	6-9	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
3.	1648/3	72-128	325	H15	74.80	43×68	7-9	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
4.	5885/7		325	H15	75.50	25.50	5-6	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Bk-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
5.	5290/3	72-125	325	H15	75.45	45×67	15	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
6.	5885/11	72-123	325	H15	75.70	62×54	10	B-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
7.	5885/3		325	H15	75.50	42×51	4-5	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
8.	5877/3		325	H15	74.40	60×63	6-10	B-sh. Cm. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
9.	5885/14		325	H15	75.50	37.70	6	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
10.	1686/1		703	F/G14	73.60	48×82	7-9	B-sh. Bn. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
11.	5885/23		325	H15	75.50	42×63	6	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
12.	1091/1		325	H15	75.20	44×87	5-6	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Diag. to Wh-L.
13.	5290/7		325	H15	75.45	42×54	4-6	B-sh. Gy. Wt-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
14.	5885/15 A-B		325	H15	75.50	36×58	6-7	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. in and outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
15.	5885/17		325	H15	75.50	47×110	9-10	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
16.	5885/5		325	H15	75.50	47×73	4	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
17.	5877/6		325	H15	74.40	35×51	6-7	SJ-sh. Pk-outs. Gy-ins. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
18.	5806/1		325	H15	75.20	50×55	13	SJ-sh. Pk. Gy+Wi-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
19.	5290/1		325	H15	75.45	26×50	9-11	B-sh. dark Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Diag. to Wh-L.
20.	1091/2		325	H15	75.20	53×60	5-6	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.

Run. No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Size in mm	Thick-ness in mm	Description	Inscription
21.	5885/29		325	H15	75.50	63×71	7-9	SJ-sh. Cm. (Gy.) Wt+Bl-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
22.	5885/19		325	H15	75.50	35×40	6-11	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Bl-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
23.	6585/1		936	C10	71.90	45×78	7-9	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
24.	5290/4		325	H15	75.45	58×80	7-11	B-sh. Gy. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
25.	5877/9		325	H15	74.40	60×70	6-9	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
26.	5806/4		325	H15	75.20	50×55	4-7	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
27.	1097/1		325	H15	75.00	45×62	5-8	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
28.	5885/24		325	H15	75.50	43×50	5	SJ-sh. Or. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
29.	7884/1				above surface	64×66	6	SJ-sh. Bn-Or outs., Gy ins. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
30.	5885/2		325	H15	75.50	50×78		Stone.	
31.	5290/9		325	H15	75.45	37×60	5-8	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
32.	1648/2		325	H15	74.80	34×65	4-6	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
33.	5885/34		325	H15	75.50	30×99		Bone.	
34.	5800/1		325	H15	75.20	56×63	4-5	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
35.	5885/4		325	H15	75.50	32×50	5-6	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
36.	5885/8		325	H15	75.50	31×48	8-10	SJ-sh. Or. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
37.	5885/25		325	H15	75.50	33×60	4-7	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
38.	196/1	72-167	35	M15	74.50	57×69	13	SJ-sh. Or. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
39.	2819/1		645	L8	76.20	41×55	8-9	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
40.	6465/1		976	G13	74.31	56×90	6-7	SJ-sh. light Bn. Wt-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
41.	A190/1		35	M15	74.80	58×92	5-8	SJ-sh. Or. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. in+outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
42.	1558/1		325	H15	74.65	31×96	7	SJ-sh. Or. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. in+outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
43.	5021/1		703	F/G14	71.50	145×157	6-10	SJ-sh. with handle. Pk. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
44.	2722/1		842	M9	76.00	47×62	4-5	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
45.	513/1		976	G13	74.35	26×70	5	B-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
46.	7711/1		1037	K17	75.50	48×80	5-7	SJ-sh. light Bn. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
47.	1091/4		325	H15	75.20	20×25	8	SJ-sh. Pk. (light Bn.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
48.	1091/5		"	"	75.20	34×39	5	J-sh. Pk. Wt+Bl-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
49.	1099/2		"	"	74.75	50×70	5-7	SJ-sh. Or. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
50.	1099/3		"	"	74.75	48×55	12	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
51.	1611/1		"	"	73.75	35×62	6-7	SJ-sh. light Bn. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
52.	5290/6		"	"	75.45	35×54	5-7	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
53.	5290/8		"	"	74.50	44×73	9-10	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.

Run. No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Size	Thick-ness in mm	Description	Inscription
54.	5290/10		"	"	74.50	45×61	5-9	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
55.	5290/11		"	"	75.45	39×60	6	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
56.	5800/2		"	"	75.20	47×63	5-7	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
57.	5801/1		"	"	75.20	53×64	8-10	SJ-sh. Or. (Bn.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
58.	5806/2		"	"	75.20	34×57	4-5	SJ-sh. Cm. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
59.	5815/1		"	"	75.10	33×42	5-6	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Bl-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
60.	5852/1		"	"	74.30	45×72	9-10	SJ-sh. Bn. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
61.	5877/1		"	"	74.40	48×85	6-8	SJ-sh. Or. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
62.	5877/4		"	"	74.40	35×67	6-7	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. in+outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
63.	5877/7		"	"	74.40	39×44	5-6	SJ-sh. Or. Wt+Bl-gr.	Inscr. in+outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
64.	5877/8		"	"	74.40	37×60	4	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
65.	5877/10		"	"	74.40	55×64	5-10	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
66.	5877/11		"	"	74.40	62×87	6-7	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
67.	5878/1		"	"	74.40	45×78	6-9	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Bl-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
68.	5885/9		"	"	75.50	41×48	5	J-sh. Or. outs. Bn. ins. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
69.	5885/10		"	"	75.50	63×67	10-12	SJ-sh. Or. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
70.	8585/16		325	H15	75.50	57×95	8-12	SJ-sh. Or. Wt+Bn-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
71.	5985/18		325	H15	75.50	55×85	6-7	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
72.	5885/21		325	H15	75.50	17×25	5-6	SJ-sh. Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
73.	5885/22		325	H15	75.50	48×50	6	B-sh. Or. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. ins. Vert. to Wh-L.
74.	5885/27		325	H15	75.50	52×52	8-10	SJ-sh. Pk-Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
75.	5885/28		325	H15	75.50	34×53	6-7	SJ-sh. Pk. (Bn.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
76.	5885/30		325	H15	75.50	43×57	3-4	J-sh. Pk. outs. Bn. ins. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
77.	5885/33		325	H15	75.50	16×30	2-3	J-sh. Or. outs. Gy. ins. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
78.	5889/1		325	H15	75.20	45×50	5-6	SJ-sh. light Gy. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
79.	651/1		351	F13	74.33	6×48	6	SJ-sh. Or. (Gy.) Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
80.	1469/1		374	C/D12	72.80	49×54	8-9	SJ-sh. Or. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
81.	1806/1		397	G14	72.60	59×70	7-9	B-sh. Or. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
82.	1814/1		397	G14	72.60	27×43	4-8	SJ-sh. Pk. (Gy.) Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.
83.	1594/1		976	G13	74.95	42×79	6-9	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
84.	1699/1		976	G13	73.40	48×80	7-8	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.
85.	1712/1		976	G13	75.05	40×49	5-8	SJ-sh. Or. Wt+Bl-gr.	Inscr. outs. Diag. to Wh-L.

LIST OF GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

Run. No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Strata	Size in mm	Thick-ness in mm	Description	Inscription
1.	563/2		301	F16	75.60	III	52×60	4	Sh-sh. Pk. Wt-gr.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
2.	563/1		301	F16	75.60	III	22×40	4	Sh-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.

LIST OF ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

Run. No.	Registr. No.	Registr. No.	Locus	Square	Level	Strata	Size in mm	Thick-ness in mm	Description	Inscription
1.	A162/1		3	L14	75.40	II	80×115	9	SJ-sh. Pk. Wt+Gy-gr.	Inscr. outs. Parl. to Wh-L.
2.	C60/1	64-270	409	G10	76.00	II	53×62	10	SJ-sh. Rd.	Inscr. ins. Parl. to Wh-L.
3.	C35/1	64-272	409	G10	76.40	II	30×50	6	B-sh. Pk-Rd.	"
4.	A344/1		1	M15	75.95	II	60×89	10	SJ-sh. Pk-Wt.	"
5.	2094/1		439	E/F14	74.60	II	45×60	8	SJ-sh. Bn. Wt-gr.	Inscr. outs. Vert. to Wh-L.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AASOR — *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
 Abel, *Géographie* — F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* 1-II, Paris 1933-38.
 Aharoni, *Land* — Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, London and Philadelphia 1967.
 ANET, *Suppl.* — J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East, Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1969.
 ASAE — *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.
 BA — *The Biblical Archaeologist*.
 BASOR — *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
 Beer-Sheva I — Y. Aharoni ed., *Beer-Sheva I*, Tel Aviv 1973.
 Cross-Freedman, *Orthography* — F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, Baltimore 1952.
 Düringer, *Iscrizioni* — D. Düringer, *Le iscrizioni antiche-ebraiche Palestinesi*, Firenze 1934.
 Donner-Röllig, *Inchriften* — H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inchriften*, Wiesbaden 1962-1964.
 Ency. bibl. — *Encyclopaedia biblica* (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1955-.
 Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch* — W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, Leipzig 1921.
 Gibson, *Textbook* — J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* 1, Oxford 1971.
 HUCA — *Hebrew Union College Annual*.
 IEJ — *Israel Exploration Journal*.
 Int. Dic. Bib. — *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols. New York, 1962-1976.
 JAOS — *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
 JBL — *Journal of Biblical Literature*.
 JCS — *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
 JEA — *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
 Jean-Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire* — C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, Leiden 1965.

- JNES — *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
 JPOS — *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*.
 JRAS — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
 JSS — *Journal of Semitic Studies*.
 Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon* — L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libris*, Leiden 1958.
 Lachish I — H. Torczyner et al., *Lachish I, The Lachish Letters*, London 1938.
 Lachish III — O. Tufnell et al., *Lachish III, The Iron Age*, London 1953.
 Lemaire, *Ostraca* — A. Lemaire, *Les Ostraca hébreux de l'époque royale Israélite*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Paris 1973.
 Lemaire, *III* — A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques, I, Les Ostraca*, Paris 1977.
 Möller, *Hier. Pal.* — G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* 1-11, Leipzig 1927-1936 (repr. Osnabrück 1965).
 Moscati, *Epigraphia* — S. Moscati, *L'epigraphia ebraica antica* 1933-1950, Roma 1951.
 Murabba'at — P. Benoit et al., *Discoveries in the Judean Desert II, Les Grottes de Murabba'at*, Oxford 1961.
 Noth, *Personennamen* — M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928 (repr. Hildesheim 1966).
 PEQ — *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*.
 Ramat Rahel I-II — Y. Aharoni et al., *Excavations at Ramat Rahel, Seasons 1959-1960*, Roma 1962; *Seasons 1961-1962*, Roma 1964.
 Vattioni, *Segni* — F. Vattioni, *I segni ebraici*, *Biblica* 50 (1969), pp. 357-388.
 VT — *Vetus Testamentum*.
 Weippert, *Edom* — M. Weippert, *Edom*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Tübingen 1971.
 WO — *Die Welt des Orients*.

The original table giving the contents of the Hebrew epistles has been reproduced here unchanged. It should prove useful for scholars as a means of locating quickly a text on any specific subject.

1. אל אלישב, ועת: נתן לכתיים יין ב(תיים) 3 וכתב
שם הים, ומעוד הקמת הראשון תרכב (חמר) 1 קמח
לעשת לחם לחם. מיון האגנת תתן.
2. אל אלישב, ועת: נתן לכתיים ב(תיים) 2 יין לארבעת
הימים 300-1 לחם, ומלא החמר יין והסבת מחר, אל
תאחר, ואם עוד חמץ, ונתת לחם.
3. אל אלישב, ועת: תן מן היין 3 ב(תיים), וצור חנניו
ל באר שבע עם משא עמד חמרם וצרתת אתם בעק,
וספר החטם והחלח[ם] ולקחת אלך . . . 3 . . . ואדמם
. . .
4. אל אלישב: תן לכתיים שמן 1, חתם ושלחנו. ויין
ב(ת) 1 תן לחם.
5. אל אלישב, ועת: שלח מאתר מעוד הקמח
ה[ר]א[ש]ן א[ש]ר . . . קמח לעשת[ן] לחם ל[כ]ת[ים] (תיים)
. . . . אל אשרי [שלח] לך את המע[שר] ב(תיים)
בטום יעבר החדש. ומיתר . . . העבדה . . .
6. אל אלישב, ו[עת]: שלח מאתר אל יחזיהו . . .
[ו]לחם] 3 (300?) . . . השמן . . .
7. אל אלישב, ועת: נתן לכתיים לעשרי ב-1 לחדש עד
חששה לחדש ב(תיים) 3, וכתבתה לפניך בשנים לחדש
עשורי. ושמן ח[תם] ושלחנו . . .
8. אל אלישב, ועת: נתן לכת[ים] (חמר) 1 (?) קמח
מן השלשה עשר לחדש עד השמנה עשר לחדש [ו]יין
ב(תיים) 3 . . . אלי . . . אשר . . .
9. אל אליש[ב], ועת: שלח מאתר . . . יין ב(תיים)
3 ב[ת] לחדש
10. אל אליש[ב], ועת: נתן לכת[ים] יין ב(ת) 1
[לחם] 8 >מא< תים. ושמן 1 [ח]תם לכן עבדיהו שלח
בידי ה[כתים] . . .
11. אל אלישב, ועת: נתן לכתיים [מאתר] ב(תיים) 2
יין . . . מנ[ו] חמיהו . . .
12. אל אלישב: קח שמן 1 [ו] . . . 2 קמח ותן א[תם]
ל[קו]ן סענל מהרה . . . א[ת] הלחם . . .
13. תשלח את השמן הזה [וחתם] בחתמך
וּשְׁלַח . . . [ל] יחזיהו . . .
14. אל אליש[ב], ועת: נתן ל[כתים] . . . [ו] שלח 1
שמן . . .
15. אתרך . . . שלח לשלם אליש[ב] . . . נער . . .
[א]הל ואחר . . .
16. אחר חנניו שלח שלם אלישב ולשלם ביתר,
ברכתה ליהוה, ועת: כצאתי מביתך ושלחתי את ה[נ]כ[ס]ך
ז[ו]רחה . . . וזיהוה . . .
17. (שקלים) לבני גאליהו [ב]ינך ע[ז]ר יהוה. ואת . . .

34. (חֲקָאָה) / ... 90 (חֲקָאָה) / ... 30 (חֲקָאָה) /
100 (חֲטָם) / (חֲקָאָה) / 50 (חֲקָאָה) / 40 / יוֹ קִנְקוֹ /
(שְׁעוּרָה) / 50 (חֲקָאָה) / 10 (שְׁעוּרָה) / 25 + 50 (חֲקָאָה) /
10 (חֲטָם) / (חֲקָאָה) / 10 (חֲקָאָה) / 10 (חֲקָאָה) / 20
(חֲטָם) / יוֹ קִנְקוֹ / (שְׁעוּרָה) / 50 (שְׁעוּרָה) / קִנְקוֹ
38. אָב ... בֶּן אֲשִׁיחָה / שְׁלֹם בֶּן אֲחִיאֵל /
גְּמִירָה בֶּן ...
39. ... בֶּן נַחֲמִיז / חֲנַנִיז / ... 1 ... 8
40. מִשֶּׁשׁ ...
41. חֲטָם / שְׁעַל <ג> [חֲנָן] / גְּמִירָה בֶּן ... /
שֶׁבַע בֶּן ... / ... בֶּן אֵלִישֶׁב 1 / חֲנָן 2 / [1] כֶּר 1
42. אֲדָם בֶּן יִצְחָק / שְׁמַעֲיָה בֶּן מַלְכִּיר / מִשֶּׁשׁ בֶּן
נִרְיָה / חֲנַנִּים בֶּן יִדְעִיז / גְּאֻלִּיז בֶּן יִדְעִיז / ...
יִזְרָה בֶּן חִי / ... יִזְרָה בֶּן שְׁמַעֲיָה / יִאֲזוּרָה בֶּן נִרְיָה /
יְהוֹאָב בֶּן חֲלִדִי / אֲבִיחָה
43. כִּנְכֵם גְּמִירָה / נַחֲמִיז שְׁלֹחַן [שְׁלֹם] מַלְכִּירָה
בִּרְכָתִי [לִיחָה] / וְעַתָּה / הִשָּׁה [עֲבָר] בֶּל [בָּה] אֵל כָּל אֲשֶׁר
אֲמַרְתָּ וְכִתְבִּתִּי אֵל אֲדָם [אֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר רָצָה הָאִשָּׁה
[וְאִישִׁיהָ] אֵל מִנָּחָה / וְאִישׁ [לֹא אֲמַר לָהֶם] / וְהֵן יִדְעִנָּה
[הַמִּתְכַּבֵּם מֵאֲדָם] נִתְּתָם לְאֲדָם [בְּטָרִם יִרְדּוּ] יִם
[וְאִשְׁנֵיהֶן] לֹן [בְּכִיֹתֵיהֶן] וְהֵא הַמִּתְכַּבֵּם בְּקֶשׁ [וְלֹא נִתְּתָה]
יִדְעַ מֶלֶךְ יִהְיֶהֱנָה בֶּן אִיגְנִי וְכֹלֵם לְשֹׁלֵחַ אֵת ה' ...
[וְהָאֵת חֲרִיעָה אֲשֶׁר] אֲדָם עֲשִׂתָּה]
44. ... [יִתְן] (סֵאָה) / ... אֵל ... [יִתְנוּ] / ...
יִזְרָה ... יִזְרָה (סֵאָה)
45. [יִזְרָה] (לִחָר) / ... (לִחָר)
... שְׁלֹם ...
46. (חֲמִיר) / 3 (חֲמִיר) / 6
47. אֵלִישֶׁב 3
48. עֵדֶר / ... 6 [כֹּסֶף] [סֵאָה] / [1] כֶּר 2
49. בְּנֵי בַעַל / 3 / בְּנֵי קֶרֶח / 2 / בֶּן גִּלְגַּל / 1 / בְּנֵי כְּנִיז /
... / 1 / ... / [יִהְיֶה] / עֲבָר [יִזְרָה] / יְהוֹאָב
... יִזְרָה / [כֹּסֶף] צִמְח / 1 / ... דָּל / ... א 2 /
שְׁעַל / 1 / מִרְיָה ח / 11 / בְּנֵי אֲחָה ח 3
50. מִרְמֹת
51. אֲשִׁיז בֶּן עֹזֶר
52. מִשֶּׁד
53. יִשְׁעִז
54. מִשְׁחָר
55. בֶּן חֲמַדִּי
56. בֶּן נַחֲמִיז
57. ... אֵל [כֹּסֶף] חֲשִׁי
58. עֵדֶר / כֹּלֵם בֶּן ... / עֹזֶר בֶּן ... / יִאֲחָץ
59. יְהוֹאָב בֶּן ... / יִקְמִיז בֶּן ... / נַחֲמִיז בֶּן ... /

GLOSSARY—CONCORDANCE

The original Hebrew Glossary, which is also a concordance, has been left intact. It is of use only to those who know Hebrew well. The Hebrew definitions of words are based on A. Even-Shoshan, *Hammilon Hehadash*, Jerusalem, 1969. The "tenses" of verb forms were defined by the respective conjugations in antiquity were not those of Modern Hebrew. The user of this concordance should be aware that the citations are from right to left, i.e. 10:1 means the first inscription and the tenth line, not the tenth inscription and the first line. The Hebrew abbreviations used herein are as follows:

	זכר	ז'
masculine	כ"ח	כ"ח
suff. pronoun	כ"ח	כ"ח
pronoun	מלת גוף	מ"ג
conjunction	מלת חיבור	מ"ח
preposition	מלת יחס	מ"י
feminine	נקבה	נ'
verb	פועל	פ'
plural	רבים	ר'
ethnicon	שם אתני	ש"א
numeral	שם מספר	ש"מ
geog. name	שם מקום	ש"מ"ק
personal name	שם פרטי	ש"פ
adjective	תואר	ת'
adverb	תואר הפועל	תה"פ

GENERAL

אב, ר' ש"פ
אביוה, ר' ש"פ
אביוה, ר' ש"פ
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